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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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ART. I.—*\*The Religious Excavations of Western India.*  
*Lecture delivered in the Townhall of Bombay by John Wilson,*  
D D, I R S.

EVERY country of the East has its own peculiar antiquarian wonders, illustrating its ancient history and the powers, resources, and occupations of the early generations of its people. In Egypt, 'the land of ancient kings,' we find temples and obelisks, and sphinxes, and excavated and structural tombs (among the last of which are the mimic mountains, the pyramids), with their no longer mysterious hieroglyphics and with their still enduring paintings and drawings (on walls, pillars, tablets, sarcophagi, papyri, rings, and other moveable objects), still recording the genealogies, enterprises, and exploits of these kings, from Menes to Ptolemy, and unfolding the social and religious life, and manners, and customs, of the people over whom they ruled, and of the tribes and nations who were tributary to them, or held in bondage by them, or with whom they maintained commercial intercourse. In the Mount Sinai peninsula, we have the inscriptions on numerous rocks and stones (in the Witten Valley, and other localities), recording the names and simple prayers of Nabathean and Arabian shepherds, wanderers, and pilgrims to that hallowed locality, and the monuments and excavations and cuttings of Megharab, Sarabut al-Khadim, and the north of the Mukattab, revealing to us the mining system of the Pharaohs from the eighteenth to the eighth century before the Christian era, when the man of cunning employed by them put forth his hand upon the rock, overturned the mountains by the roots, and by his eye searched every precious thing. On the summit of mount Hor, we find the oft-constructed and renewed tomb of the venerable Aaron, the brother of Moses; and, embosomed in its neighbouring Sinai, the pride and glory of Edom, what, so early as the times of the

\* We are enabled by the courtesy of Dr. Wilson to present this interesting lecture as an article to the readers of the *Calcutta Review*.

Israelitish David and Amaziah, was denominated Selah, the city of the rock, (in Greek Petra), the name which it still bears, and whose excavated tombs, temples, cisterns, aqueducts, and private dwellings, with their beautiful façades and colonnades, in union with what a French traveller calls 'the most enchanting picture which nature has wrought in her grandest mood of 'creation,' form the most wonderful combination of art and nature to be found in the world. In the land of Israel, as at Hebron at the tomb of Abraham, still bearing alike with Jew and Arab the designation of the 'friend of God,' and in the remains of the temple enclosure at Jerusalem, we have specimens of the Phenician masonry, procured by Solomon, more than cyclopean in dimensions. At Baalbek in Cæle-Syria, and at the neighbouring Palmyra in the wilderness, we have the remains of the boldest, noblest, grandest, and most magnificent architecture which, in the judgment of both science and taste, has yet been erected on the face of the globe. Mesopotamia, the seat of the most ancient empires in the world, has yielded, from its disentombed palaces, the records and illustrations,—graven with an iron pen on stone, or printed on clay, or painted on the facings of the walls,—of the earliest monarchs of the earth, extending to upwards of two thousand years before Christ, and of the Assyrian or Babylonian sovereigns from Tiglathpelezer I. B. C. 1150, down to Nabonidus of the sixth century before our own era. At Behistun, in Persia, the history of the Achæmenian kings has been found briefly written, in an auto-biographical form, with more than the precision, though with less than the simplicity, of Herodotus, while Persepolis and its neighbourhood furnish memorials of their enterprize which are not to be despised either by genius or art, though they are not altogether of an original character. India has its structural temples, its 'topes,' its pillars, its lāthas, its tablets, and its shāshans, and above all its rock excavations, which reveal its character and resources in the days of old, indicate its early advancement in a peculiar civilization, and throw great light on the history of its varying religion, and the manner and means of its sustentation and propagation.

These wonders, so far as they were observed, we need scarcely say, have for many ages, till lately, been addressing more the imagination than the intelligence of man. Though the monuments and memorials of those who made the earth to tremble, who did shake kingdoms, they had long ceased to tell the story, or even to indicate the names, of their authors. None of the sons of the countries in which they are found could unfold their mysteries. Though patent to all they were but little understood,

even by the curious travellers and antiquarians from the lands of light. Their re-interpretation, after ages of forgetfulness, was reserved for the nineteenth century. The hieroglyphical engravings and enchorial writings of Egypt were unbroken mysteries till our own age produced its Youngs, Champollions, Wilkinsons, Rosselinis, Lepsius, and Bunsens. The written rocks of Sinai only set their beholders adreaming (as they still do in the case of the visionary Forster) till deciphered and translated by a Beer and a Tuch within the quarter of a century. It was in our own childhood that the enterprising Burckhardt entered the natural gateways of Petra, and by his descriptions allured to it at a later day a Laborde and a Linan and others, who have given us the veritable picture of the whole locality, with rational explanations of most of its peculiarities. Pilgrims to Jerusalem could point us to innumerable spots for the identification of which no data are to be found, as that at which the cock crew to the apostle Peter; but they could not even observe till a short time ago the gigantic foundations and structures of the ages of Solomon and of Herod. The pencil and pen of a Wood and a Dawkins, in 1751, could most accurately portray the temples of Baalbek and the palaces of Palmyra; but historical light on these unsurpassed structures has, in any considerable degree, been a late communication to the curiosity of Europe. The excavation and interpretation of the tablets and sphinxes and stellæ of Niniveh was only accomplished, a few years ago, by our Bottas and Layards. The inscriptions of Behistun, though partially copied and deciphered by others, were not read till the appearance of our own Rawlinson. The antiquities of India were all ascribed by the natives of the country to the *Pándaras* in their mythical character, and viewed as homogeneous embodiments of Hinduism, till their special and varied characters as belonging to different religious systems, Buddhist, Brahmanical, and Jaina, were pointed out and expounded by the learned William Erskine of Bombay; and till their inscriptions began to be deciphered by a Prinsep, a Wathen, and their friendly associates. The antiquities of India were not only not understood, but completely misinterpreted, till they passed under observation and research in our own time. Natives and Europeans alike fell into what must now appear the most palpable errors respecting them. With the Brahmans, the Buddhist *Dhagobs* at Kárlá and other places were only enormous *Lingas*. With the same parties, at Elora, the *Therawárá* or monastery, the residence of the Theros, was the *Dhedwád*, or abode of the outcast Dhéds; *Buddha* himself in his deepest abstraction was the Brahmanical artificer, *Vishvakarma* holding his cut finger in



his workshop ; and the Buddhist and Jaina temples to the north, were the Brahmanical *Jagannatha Sabhā*, the *Indra Sabhā*, and so forth. Buddhism, to which the most extensive and magnificent remains belong, was completely ignored by them. Europeans made scarcely more absurd descriptions and interpretations of what fell before their notice, or entered the sphere of their research. The Portuguese historian de Couto, founding on the accounts given by his countrymen resident in India, thus speaks of the caves of Kānherī in Salsette. ‘ In the centre of this island there exists that wonderful Pagoda of Canari, thus called from its being supposed to have been the work of the Canaras. It is constructed at the foot of a great hill of stone, of light grey colour ; there is a beautiful hall at its entrance, and in the yard that leads to the front back-door, there are two human figures engraved on the same stone, twice as big as the giants exhibited on the procession on the Corpus Christi Feast in Lisbon, so beautiful, elegant, and so well executed, that even in silver they could not be better wrought and made with such perfection. This front door has some cisterns hewn out of the same rock, which receive the rain water, and it is so cold in the summer, that there is no hand that can bear it. From the foot to the top of the hill there are more than three thousand small rooms like cells, cut out of the same rock in the shape of snail shells, and each of them has a cistern with the same water at the door ; and what is more to be wondered at is, that there is an aqueduct constructed so ingeniously, that it passes through all the three thousand apartments, receives all the water from that hill, and supplies it to the cisterns that are at the doors of the room. During the residence of the Rev. Fre Antonio de Porto, in the church of St. Michael, he was told by the Christian whom he had converted, that there was a labyrinth in that hill, whose end had never been traced, and it was moreover stated that it extended as far as Cambay. The priest, desirous of getting in to see this wonder and the magnitude of this work about which so much was said, took one of his companions, and collected twenty persons with arms and matchlocks to defend themselves against wild beasts, and some servants to carry the necessary provisions for the journey, viz. water, rice, biscuits, vegetables, etc., and some oil for the torches, which were taken to light the place, in order that they might see their way through ; and they also took three persons, provided with bundles of strong ropes for the purpose of laying alongside of their way as they proceeded, as was done by those who entered the labyrinth of Crete. Thus prepared, they entered the caves by an entrance about four fathoms in breadth.

where they placed a large stone, to which they fastened the point of the ropes. They travelled through the caves for seven days, without any interruption, through places some of them wide, and others narrow, which were hollowed in the rock, and on each side they saw small chambers like those in the Pagoda above mentioned, each of which had at their entrance a cistern, but no one could say whether these cisterns contained any water, or how they could receive any, for in all these passages they could not discover any hole, crevice, or any thing which could throw any light on the subject. The upper part of the building was cut out of the same rock, and the walls on each side of these roads were done on the same way. The priest, seeing that they had expended seven days without being able to find any opening, and that the provisions and water had been almost consumed, thought it necessary to return, taking for his clue the rope, without knowing in these windings whether he was proceeding up or down, or what course they were steering, as they had no compass for their guidance. Having seen that these priests travelled through it seven days without taking any rest, except at dinner and sleeping hours, they must have travelled at least six leagues every day, which in seven days would amount to forty-two leagues, it appears to me, that what the Hindus say that it reaches as far as Cambay, may be true, because the island of Salsette at most is only four leagues long, and the labyrinth is in the centre of the island. To say that the roads could have many windings, and be so intricate as to make them spend seven days, is impossible, the island (as I said) being very small and narrow.\* Here are chambers and tunnels with a witness!—tunnels which, in their length and windings, reduce those on the Bhór and Thal Ghats (so eloquently discoursed of by the learned president of the R. A. society, their great inventor and superintendent) to comparatively small dimensions! *Credat Judæus Appelles, non ego*.\* Even our own learned Faber, so late as 1803, founding on the descriptions of Elephanta given by Mr. Maurice and others, could indite the following nonsense:—‘The five-headed Brahmá [two heads are *imagined* to be behind the three of the *trimúrti* seen by visitors] is an hieroglyphical representation of Noah, his three sons, and his allegorical consort

\* The passages in de Couto referring to the Religious Excavations, were first brought to our notice by the late Bishop Prendergast. The passage quoted above is from the journal of the B. B. R. A. S., to which it was communicated by the Rev. W. K. Fletcher. The excavations at Kánhari have been found by the Messrs. West, who have published accurate delineations of them (including their inscriptions), shewing them to be only a hundred in number. From none of them is the light of day excluded.

‘ the ark. At the termination of the deluge, the patriarch lost his fifth head the ark [as Brahmá did in the Hindu legendry] ; which in the language of fable was said to have been cast off by him that moves upon the waters ; but from the blood which flowed from it, the whole race of animals was reproduced ; or, in other words, the animals which were destined to stock the new world, issued from the womb of the ark. The cavern of Elephanta, then, being nothing more than a helio-arkite grotto, we shall find no difficulty in discovering the reason why the compound bust of Noah and his three sons was placed within it ; why precisely eight figures guarded the doors ; and why the disgraceful symbols of Bacchus, Attis, Osiris, or Mahádeva, occupied so conspicuous a place in the sacellum.’

The most important of all the antiquities of India are its excavations, and the topes and rock inscriptions which are associated with them. They are the greatest works of the ancient, though not the most ancient, Indians, who, it appears, both from the paintings at Ajantá and the inscriptions at Kárlá and Kanheri, had the partial assistance of Greeks or of Bactrians in their execution. They are all, with few exceptions, in the mountainous ranges and insular hills in the neighbourhood of Bombay ; and they are there, as if for the very purpose of being compared with our own gigantic railway works, now proceeding. There are about fifty large groups of them in the Sahyá-dri range of mountains and in their offshoots, to make the ascent and descent of which the resources of our engineering and mechanical skill are at present so effectively and boldly applied. We have incidentally heard the natives actually making for us a comparison of them with the railway works ; and giving the preference to these railway works on the ground of extent, labour, ingenuity, and utility. It is no longer a difficulty to the missionary, which we have all often felt, to make manifest to the Indians the mere human origin of the excavations, unless indeed with such parties, as we have seen specimens of, who consider the railway engineers themselves a species of demi-gods. Yet the excavations are wonderful, all things considered, for their number, magnitude, and artistic execution. To this remark those especially who have visited Elephanta, Salsette, Kudá, Kárlá, Junír, Násik, Elora, Aurangábád, Ajantá, and other localities will readily assent. Thousands of men, directed by skilful contrivers and superintendents, must have been employed upon them for many years, nay for centuries, as will appear when their origin and age are considered.

.. Natural grottoes made by the fissure and abrasion of rocks, both vertical and horizontal, and the introduction into them of

water currents, have doubtless in all countries suggested the idea of artificial grottoes, especially after the use of them by various classes of partial troglodytes in different countries, as the earlier races of men spread themselves over the face of the world. Both classes of grottoes early became associated with the mysteries of religion and superstition; and were converted into the shrines of idols and oracles and into the dens of sybils, as is well known to all who are acquainted with the literature of Greece and Rome.

The artificial excavations of India,—and which in their inscriptions are denominated *Selgharas* (s. *Shailgrihas*) Rock-Mansions, and *Lenas* (from the s. *Layanam*) Ornamentations, so called from their images and figures,—are all of a religious character, belonging to three distinct religious systems, the Buddhist, the Bráhmanical and the Jaina, as was at first proved by their mythological figures, and is now most satisfactorily established by their inscriptions. Natives of intelligence have of course all along understood the figures in the Bráhmanical caves, because they are in accordance with the latest developments of their recognized mythology,—though they sometimes went wrong in their interpretation of their groups, and had forgotten their history. Their desire to claim the merit of the Buddhist and Jaina excavations, coupled with their slight acquaintance with the history and symbols of these systems, tempted them, in violation of their palpable indications, to associate them with Brahmanism.

The **BUDDHIST** excavations are the most ancient, numerous, and diversified. They are principally of the following species:—

1. *Chetyagharas* (s. *chaityagrihas*) or Temples.—These are generally of an oblong form, with lofty roofs, of a semicircular or horse shoe curve, and in some instances associated with wooden rafters, sometimes, as at Kárlá (where the best specimen of a *Chaitya* is to be found), in a wonderful state of preservation. In the front of each *Chaitya*, there is a wall or screen with a gallery above (perhaps devoted of old to musicians) and pierced by a principal and two side doorways, and also sometimes an outer screen. A colonnade, with the pillars generally highly ornamented with sculpture on their capitals, though sometimes plain, goes round the *Chaitya*. At its inner extremity, but exterior to the colonnade, is a *Dahgob* (from the Sanskrit *Dhátugarbha*, the receptacle of elements or *Dehagupta* (the holder or concealer of a body)—a mass of rock or erection, enclosing, in an interior hole hid from view, some supposed relic of *Shákya Muni* or *Buddha*, or of some of his more distinguished followers. The screen here referred to, as at Kárlá and Kánheri,

has sometimes interesting groups in alto-relievo representing Buddha himself, and parties, principally of the aboriginal tribes, come to do him obeisance. Two recesses bounded by this screen in front, but with lofty sides, with two gigantic figures as at Kanheri, or with elephants with numerous figures surmounting them as at Kárlá, or without ornament,—form the porch of the temple. Exterior to this porch at the principal Chaityas are ornamental or commemorative *Stambhas*—pillars, generally monoliths hewn like the temples out of the living rock. That at Kárlá is denominated on an inscription which it bears, the ‘Lion-pillar,’ a designation easily understood from the figures forming its capital. Near the entrances to the Chaityas, are often small *Dahgobs*, either monoliths or structures of the form of the interior Dahgobs, but devoted to the commemoration of parties inferior to Shákya Muni himself. At various places in their neighbourhood, are *Stupas*, or ‘topes’ resembling these Dahgobs—mounds covering the ashes of distinguished Buddhist teachers. The most remarkable ‘topes’ in India are of a structural kind, as those of Manyakáli in the Panjáb described by the late professor Wilson in his learned work entitled *Ariana Antiqua*, and at Bhilsa, so fully and ably described by Colonel Cunningham of the Bengal Engineers.

2. *Viháras*, or Monasteries.—These were designed for the accommodation of the Buddhist *Bhikshus*, or mendicant monks, dwelling together as cenobists, the individual cells, or smaller abodes of the monks being denominated *Bhikshu-grihas*. They are often very capacious, with large halls in their centre, and are sometimes of two or three storeys, as at Elora and Kárlá, where they are called the *Doutál* and *Tíntal*. The villages near the caves sometimes bear the name of *Vihargáum* or *Vehergáum* (corrupted into *Yedagáum*), as was formerly the case with the village in Salsette now covered with the Vihar lake, from which the water-pipes in Bombay are supplied, and is still the case with the village below the hill in which the caves of Kárlá are situated.

3. Detached *Bhikshugrihas*, Hermitages, literally Mendicants-Houses.—These were intended for the monks who lived not as cenobists but hermits. Their cubicula, as well as those of the cenobists, are all of the living rock, and must never have been of a luxurious character.

4. *Buddha-Shálás* or *Bhikshu-Sangha Buddha-Grihas*.—These are generally square or oblong halls, with or without cells, for the public instruction or consultation of the monks, whose common audiences were probably, addressed *sub claro cælo*, or in temporary tabernacles—on the

occasion of their great festivals, or at their own residences when the monks wandered abroad.

5. *Dharmashálás*, or Charitable Lodging Houses.—These were intended for the accommodation of the pilgrims and other parties who visited the monks on festival occasions or at other seasons. An example of this class of excavations is contiguous to the Chaitya at Kánherí.

6. *Annasatras*, or Food Dispensaries.—These were excavations, or apartments of excavations, devoted to the issue of food to travellers. Hospices of this character, greater or smaller, are still to be found in all parts of India, though frequently in a decayed or decaying state, from the appropriation by their administrators of their regal and other endowments.

7. *Pondhís*, or Cisterns.—These are reservoirs for the supply of water, brought to them by numerous small drains and cuttings extending over the hills on which the excavations occur. Many of them are but little reached by the sun. Hence the comparative coolness of their waters, noticed in such an exaggerated form by the Portuguese annalist whom we have already quoted.

It is many years since we substantially made this arrangement of the Buddhist excavations. It was afterwards confirmed by their inscriptions, as read both by the late Dr. Stevenson and the writer.

The figures of Buddha, of course, predominate in the Buddhist excavations. They are exactly similar to those in use in the present day in the different countries to which Buddhism has been carried from India,—in Nipál, Tartary, Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, China, and even Japan, as appears from wood engravings lately received from that distant country. They are represented in a variety of postures,—standing, sitting, or squatted,—sometimes with the feet drawn up and the knees protruded, sometimes with one foot up and another down, and sometimes with both feet on the ground; and as receiving worship and enthronization, as dispensing blessings, or as engaged in contemplation. They are almost uniformly destitute of such monstrosities as a plurality of heads, legs, arms, etc.,—as are noticed in Brahmanical images. They are all of one type, as far as the expression of intellect is concerned; and the conception of them indicates little life, genius, reflection. Abstraction seems to be their general characteristic. Though of stone they have all the stiffness of wooden models, which may have been brought from afar to be copied when they were hewn. According to the Buddhist conceit of beauty many of them have curled hair and pendant lips, as of an African type. One of the most interesting of them at Ajantá, of gigantic dimensions, represents the death of

**Buddha.** The sage in the scene is lying in a horizontal position. His earthly servants, standing round his couch, are overcome with sorrow and grief, while a band of heavenly choristers above are frantic with joy at the supposed liberation or extinction of his spirit. The figures attendant on, or doing obeisance, to Buddha, on the sculptures, or introduced there for the purposes of ornament, indicate more liberty and art than we see in the case of their master, the original images of whom seem to have been followed without variation,—though some of them are in forms and attitudes of a grotesque character. On the ceilings, and walls of some excavations, as those of Ajantá, are very remarkable paintings, evidently of Grecian or Bactrian origin,—for the figures are far superior to those which we find on the Hindu coins of the same age. These paintings, the copying of which has occupied Major Gill and his assistants for fifteen years, illustrate the occupations and manners and customs of the former inhabitants of this country, and even of the foreign peoples with whom they held intercourse. It is evident from them that, though the Buddhist monks withdrew their own consecrated persons from the evil world, when they betook themselves to their monasteries and hermitages, they liked to be surrounded in their solitude by the pictures of its pomps and vanities.

We have no doubt that there were originally structural buildings associated with the Buddhist excavations. One used as a stable for elephants is referred to, in a fragmentary inscription in the cave character, in a large stone found at Kánherí by the late lamented Mr. Henry West, and at present in our possession. There are remains of extensive foundations, in some instances with holes for wooden pillars, on the Kánherí hill, or as it is called in the inscriptions, the hill of *Kánha-Kánherí* (to which we formerly diffidently gave another etymology) being probably a contraction of *Kánhágiri*, the mountain of Kánhá.

The Buddhist excavations have generally an interesting situation, amidst picturesque, or wild, or sublime scenery. They had sometimes gardens in their neighbourhood for the raising of vegetables and the culture of flowering and fruit trees, the representatives of which, as known to our botanists, to some extent, exist to the present day. The grove at *Lonálá* or *Lonáwali* (corrupted from *Lenáwali*) the Grove-of-the-Lena, was probably connected with the establishment at Kárlá, distant from it only three or four miles. It was a favourite resort of the late accomplished and observant Mr. John Graham, who found trees and bushes at it, but now seldom seen in other parts of the country.

The BRAHMANICAL Excavations are principally *Temples*—either representing the interior of such places of worship, as at Elephanta, or both their interior and exterior, as is the case in the example of the superb temple of *Kailás* at *Elora*. They are all, without exception, dedicated to *Shiva*, and distinguished by the different forms of that deity and of the members of his family, and of the later gods of the Hindu pantheon subordinated to *Shiva*. To understand them, we have to attend to the Hindu conception of the deity to whom they are dedicated, philosophically and mythologically considered. He is not a god of the ancient A'rya people, from whom the Brahmans and the whiter races of the natives are sprung. He is not once mentioned in the ancient Vedas, though the Brahmans wish to find him in *Rudra*, there set forth as the god of storms. He is not even observed in the collection of laws attributed to Manu. His name etymologically, means 'he of whom growth, increase, or prosperity is.' Hence he is the god of the productive power of nature, in some respects not unlike *Savitri* of the Vedas, *Pashupati*, lord of beasts, with the *trishúla* or trident, *pásha*, or net, and the bull called *Nandí*, as his *váhana* or conveyance; and *Shankara*, the god of prosperity. As the material prosperity of the inhabitants of the Indian plains and valleys was dependent to a great extent on the rivers issuing from the Himalaya mountains, he was viewed as *Girisha*, the lord of mountains, his wife being *Párvatí*, the 'mountain-born' (from *Parvatá*, a mountain,) and *Durgá*, the 'daughter of mountains.' Associated with the eternal snows of these mountains, he was viewed as a penitent or ascetic, and the chief of ascetics, with a great many corresponding names. Conceived to be located among constant storms, he easily absorbed the name of *Rudra* found in the Védas, though, as we have already hinted, it did not originally belong to him; and he thus became the god of destruction and death, adorned with a necklace of skulls or human heads, and possessed of a third eye or most prominent brow. He became also *Ilara*, an ancient god of power; and is known by the name of *Mahábaleshwar*, the 'lord-of-great-power'. The *linga* is not mentioned as one of his images or symbols in either of the epic poems, the *Rámáyana* or *Mahábhárata*, or in the *Amarkosha*, the dictionary of Amar. This symbol seems to have been transferred to him from the aborigines of the south of India. He was originally a popular god, adopted by the Brahmans like Vishnu in the non-Vedic sense; and hence the name of *Mahádeva*, or the great god, and its various synonyms. Perhaps, the original idea of him was got from the sun, viewed, not as the lord of day, but



as the great source of nourishment and increase. Mythological analogy is in favour of this conjecture, the bull in Egypt and other countries having been sacred to the sun. In later times the Bráhmans having found the three functions of creation, preservation, and destruction attributed in the Upanishads and other philosophical treatises, to Brahma, conceived of as the original and universal self or spirit, gave one of them to *Brahmá*, the god whom they had invented as the god of prayer; another of them to *Vishnu*, also in his general characters a new conception; and the third to *Shiva*. The followers of Shiva in the south were dissatisfied with this arrangement; and they claimed all these functions,—yet paying deference to their respective personifications,—for their preferred popular god Shiva, whom they exalted in their sectarian zeal to the highest honour, as set forth in the Shiva, Linga, and other Puranas of the same class.

A characteristic example of the Brahmanical caves is to be found at *Elephanta*, with the form, size, and appearance of which very many are doubtless familiar. We confine our remarks upon these caves at present to their principal mythological sculptures.

1. Fronting the entrance of the large temple, but at its extremity, is the great *trimúrti*, or image with three heads combined together, about nineteen feet in height, though it extends only from the shoulders upwards. This is *Shiva* possessed of the three functions of creation, preservation, and destruction just alluded to, and personified with the active attributes ascribed respectively to Brahmá, Vishnu, and Shiva. The front face is that of Shiva as *Brahmá*, the god of prayer or the word, in whom the creative energy is thought to centre. The face to the right of the spectator is that of Shiva as *Vishnu*, the god of preservation, recognized by his purer appearance and his symbol, the lotus. The face to the left of the spectator is that of *Shiva*, as the destroyer, recognized by his fiercer aspect, the feline moustache, the slabbering lip, the terrific serpents in his hand and forming his hair, his prominent brow, and the skull near his temples. This composite bust, which is unique in point of size and execution, is remarkable for its head-dresses (royal *mukats* or diadems) with pearl pendants and precious stones set in gold or silver, and necklaces, and earrings and other ornaments, which throw light on the capital and thoracic adornments of the kingly natives before the introduction of the turban. It was almost perfect till a few months ago, when some thoughtless or mischievous visitors broke off a portion of the noses of two of the figures. Though it represents a triad of comparatively modern invention, it is in unison with such a

triad of deities as the Hindus, like other ancient peoples, have been familiar with from the earliest times.

2. To the spectator's right, from the trimúrti, *Shiva* and his wife *Párvatí* appear standing upright in their proper character, with their attendants, some of whom below are jovial *ganas* and *pishachas*, mythological demons belonging to their suite, while those in the aerial regions above are specimens of famishing devotees and ascetics, of which *Shiva* himself, as we have already hinted, is the chief. What is to be particularly noticed in this group, and in others which the visitor himself will observe, is the subordinate presence of the other deities of the Hindu pantheon. *Brahmá*, with his four faces (three only of which are visible) seated upon his *váhaná* (waggon) of geese; *Indra*, upon his elephant *Airávatí*; and *Vishnu*, mounted upon the personified *Garuda*, the lord of eagles.

3. To the spectator's left, from the trimúrti, *Shiva* and *Párvatí* appear as *Arddhanareśvara* in a half-male and half-female form (agreeably to a well known Hindu legend,) with the gods above noted, and male and female attendants allotted to them respectively, and with adoring ascetics above. In this group, *Nandi*, the *váhana* of *Shiva*, appears, not in the species of the domestic bull, but that of the forest *Gava*, the *Bos Gavaus* of naturalists, mentioned in the Vedas as an article of food. There is more poetry in connecting *Shiva* with the *Gava* than with the domestic bull as is commonly done. In few of the *Shiva* sculptures does the tiger, the *váhana* of *Párvatí* or *Durga*, appear.

4. The spectator, passing No. 2 to the left, now finds, behind the sacellum containing the symbol of *Shiva*, a group representing the marriage of *Shiva* to *Párvatí*, with the bashful bride, pushed forward by a ministering attendant on the right of the bridegroom, a position which she occupies only on the day of marriage. Close to *Shiva* is a priest holding a vessel with the substances for the bridal unction. The other gods, etc., are here (as in the other groups), *Brahmá* sitting in the corner. This group, with others to be noted, has its counterpart connected with the domestic life of *Shiva*, in the *Dhumar Lena* at *Elora*.

5. Close to the sacellum on the opposite wall of the temple is *Shiva* in his character of *Bhairava*, the formidable, fierce in countenance, with swollen eyes, and set lips; with a garland of human heads suspended from his neck, instead of the Brahmanical string; with eight hands (now partly broken) all employed in effecting, *horribile dictu vel visu*, a human sacrifice, that of a child. This child he holds up raised in one hand, while he has a bare sword to strike the fatal blow in another, a bell to intimate the appointed moment in a third, and a vessel to

receive the blood in a fourth. A fifth hand, with its arm now wanting, holds a screen to be dropped when the awful event occurs. The ascetics above, represented with considerable art, are in horror and amazement at this development of the destructive powers of their master. In the centre of their row occurs the mystical trisyllabic symbol *Om* (*Om*), applied as comprehending each person of the triad, as if the essence of Hinduism were here concentrated.

6. Crossing the temple, to the corresponding apartment on the other side, we have a scene of a very different kind. *Shiva and Parvati, in the enjoyment of connubial bliss* in their heaven or *calum*, the *Kailás* of the Hindus, upheld, or shaken by the many-headed and many-handed *Rávana*, the demon king of *Lanká*.

7. Directly opposite to this group is another, also illustrative of the domestic life of Shiva and Parvati, husband and wife, showing signs of *dissatisfaction* with and aversion to one another. Both these personages appear in superior and less injured form, at the *Dhumar Lena* at *Elora*, from the inspection of which their real character is to be ascertained.

8-9. In the great temple, the groups at the entrance represent *Shiva sitting as an ascetic*, with accompaniments the same as in other instances. The position in which he is squatted is a favourite one with Hindu devotees, even with the Buddhists.

We pass over the *sacellum* with its gigantic guardians. Of the two chapels, that to the left hand as we enter is the more important. In the court before it, which was long filled up with earth, there is a low circular platform, where the bull doing honour to the distant *sacellum* of the great temple, and that of this chapel, must have been placed. Not a vestige of it now remaining (*sic transit gloria Nandi!*)—The leogroffs at the sides of the steps leading to the chapel were lately dug out of the accumulated earth now referred to. One of them is unfinished (as is the case with the exterior excavations on the way to the eastern landing place of the island). To the right hand of the chapel is an apartment showing a procession of women carrying infants, etc., as on the occasion of a marriage, with *Shiva*, in his proper person, confronting his corpulent son *Ganpati*, with his large belly and elephant's head, the substitute for his natural one, which he is said to have lost at his birth by the consuming glance of the god *Shani*, the planet Saturn, who clapped that of a passing pachyderm upon him to pacify his mother displeased by his misfortune, but without his *váhana*, the rat, on which, it is incongruously said, he takes air and exercise!

So much for a specimen of the Brahmanical caves. The JAINA excavations are also principally temples. They are not numerous in the west of India; and it is rather difficult for the general visitor to distinguish them from those of the Buddhists, with whom the Jainas, as religionists, are intimately allied.\* Some one of the twenty-four Tirthankars (S. Tirthakaras) or alleged emancipated Jinās (victorious ones,) particularly *Neminátha* or *Parasnátha*, occupies the chief places in them, while the other *Tirthankars* occupy the verandas or secondary positions. The best specimens which we have seen of them are in the northern groups at Elora, the middle groups there being Brahmanical, and the southern Jaina. A very curious but unequivocal one we visited a few years ago on the hill opposite the traveller's bungalow at Chandor.

The different groups of caves in the West of India have, generally speaking, a peculiar interest of their own. In none of the caves is there a *trimúrti* so remarkable as that at Elephanta. The Buddhist life is best understood from the excavations of Salsette, though they require much attention, not only from the visitant, but from the student and antiquarian. No such beautiful Chaitya, as already hinted at, is to be found in India, as that at Kárlá. Elora is pre-eminent for the variety and extent of its excavations. In the adjoining caves at Aurangabad, only as yet partially cleared out, we have perhaps the best specimens of architectural forms. Those of Ajanta are unrivalled for their paintings. The best scenery is visible from the caves of Násik. Many of the caves which we have visited are not very accessible. The delineations which have been made of some of the caves by Mr. James Wales, by volunteers acting under the direction of Mr. William Erskine, by Colonel Sykes, by Mr. James Fergusson, and by others, have been published. Major Gill's accurate copies of the Ajantá paintings are with the Indian government at home. So are the oil-pictures, some of which are very elaborate, made by Mr. William Fallon. Mr. Johnson's photographs of the Elephanta and Kánheri caves, are justly appreciated by the members of this community. Those which he is about to issue of the caves at Kárlá have been pronounced by competent judges to be among the best yet produced by the photographic art.

A most important inquiry connected with the Caves is that which refers to their age, to the parties by whom they were constructed and to the facts to be gleaned from their respective inscriptions.

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\* *Jaina* is the adjective form of *Jina*, the Conqueror, a very common name of Buddha. See the Mahavarso of Ceylon *passim*, beginning with the first page.

The Jaina excavations are the most modern of those which have yet been brought to notice. In 1852, when examining that devoted to Parasnáthá at Elora,—and which is evidently of the same workmanship as the larger Jaina excavations of that locality,—we observed an inscription giving the date of its formation as *Shuka* 1156, equivalent to A. D. 1234, which makes the Jaina temples at Elora 627 years old at the present time. This date is corroborated by the fact that these Jaina temples,—which had probably for their authors the opulent Jaina ministers of the Rajput, Elichpur, and Devagiri Rajas,—have some imitations in their construction of the Brahmanical Kailás temples, to which they must consequently be posterior, and by the other fact, proved from the Jaina works at Abu and other places, that the Jainas of Western India were about this time making great efforts to extend and to glorify their faith.

None of the Brahmanical excavations have, as far as we are aware, any existent contemporaneous inscriptions, one at Elephanta having, it is said by De Couto, been carried to Portugal, where no trace of it can now be found. Yet the age of the Brahmanical excavations, we conceive, can be ascertained approximately. In 1850, we thus wrote respecting this matter:—

‘Mr. Fergusson has made the important discovery that ‘the Brahmanical *Kailás*, which strikes the beholder as the ‘most remarkable of the whole (of the Elora groups), is formed ‘after the type of some of the structural temples of the South of ‘India, particularly the great pagoda at Tanjor; and he says:—  
 ‘“I have no doubt in my own mind that the *Chola*, or at least  
 ‘“some of the Karnatic Rajas were the excavators of this temple,  
 ‘“and the restorers (rather propagators) of Sivite worship in the  
 ‘“Dekhan; my own impression is, that we must ascribe this  
 ‘“either to Raja Rajendra or Kere Kala Cholan, and that  
 ‘“consequently the date given by Mir Ali Khan to Sir Charles  
 ‘“Malet is very near the truth, if applied to this excavation at  
 ‘“least, and that it was made in the first half of the ninth  
 ‘“century of our era.” Commenting on this opinion, we added,  
 ‘Works of such magnitude as the Kailás temples would require  
 ‘the wealth and enterprize of such sovereigns as the Cholas were.  
 ‘The resources of the local princes, the Chálukyas of the Dakhan,  
 ‘and of the Devagiri Rajas were quite inadequate to their  
 ‘execution, and that of the Elephanta and other Shuiva temples  
 ‘near Bombay. Somewhat posterior, in point of age, to Kailás,  
 ‘must be those Brahmanical temples of Elephanta and Salsette,  
 ‘in which various imitations of the Brahmanical excavations of  
 ‘Elora appear. Looking at them collectively, we have long, on

‘ mythological grounds, been disposed to limit the age of the  
 ‘ Brahmanical excavated temples by the eighth or ninth century  
 ‘ after Christ. On several of their figures the small box, con-  
 ‘ taining the emblem of Shiva, worn by the Lingáyats, (as noticed  
 ‘ by Mr. Erskine) is represented, and the Lingáyats (as a sect)  
 ‘ did not appear in the South of India till considerable modifica-  
 ‘ tions were made, in the course of time, in the peculiar forms of  
 ‘ Shivism, introduced or supported by Shankar ‘Achárya. The  
 ‘ Chola Rajas were the patrons of the Lingáyats, who, to the  
 ‘ worship of Mahádeva or Shiva, added the practice of the  
 ‘ Yoga, without reference to caste, with a view to final eman-  
 ‘ cipation. Professor Wilson notices the profession of the Yoga  
 ‘ in the eighth century, and he properly observes that the  
 ‘ Brahmanical temples in the subjects of their sculptures, and  
 ‘ the decoration of Shiva and his attendants, belong to the same  
 ‘ sect. It is remarkable that this form of the Hindu religion has  
 ‘ vanished from the Maratha country, which it is not likely it  
 ‘ would have done had it enjoyed the continued patronage of the  
 ‘ Devagiri Rajas reigning over this locality, the last of whom  
 ‘ was overcome by the Muhammadans, A. D. 1293.’

A remarkable corroboration of the general views here stated, and warranting a more definite adjustment of them, we obtained at Elora in January, 1852. In the Jaina inscription already referred to, the name of the hill in which all the Elora excavations are made is the *Virolla Parvat*, or Mount of Virolla (of which the native *Firula* or European *Elora* is a corruption). This word, we have little doubt, is formed from the name of *Vira-chola*, one of the Chola Rajas, who flourished, according to one of the papers of the Mackenzie Collection, quoted by Professor H. H. Wilson (who mentions the extensive conquests of his race), about A. D. 917. This gives an antiquity to the most remarkable of the Brahmanical temples of Elora and those of Elephanta, which are of the same type, of about 944 years; or to deal in round numbers, it makes them to fall at least within the present millennium. The *Jogeshvari* Brahmanical temples of Salsette, however, are considerably more modern than those of Elephanta and Elora. The sculpture and architecture of them are not of the Southern Indian type, like those of the great works now mentioned, but of the Rajput or Gujarat types, as we see exemplified in various districts to the northward, as in Kathiawar, Pattan, and Mount Abu. Of the same character is the remarkable structural Shaiva temple of *Amarnáthá*, about six miles from Kalyán, which, though of hard black basalt, shows a delicacy of workmanship which could be attained only by artisans accustomed to work in softer stone, the marble and

sand stones of the north. Whether this work is to be attributed to the Devagiri Rajas, or the Rajput sovereigns of Anhilwara Pattan, we can not positively say. On many old Shaiva structural temples throughout the country as well as on the caves, we have observed marks of violence which we would attribute to the times of the Chálukyas, who, it appears from their inscriptions, were favourable to the *Vaishnava* form of Hinduism.

To ascertain the age of the *Buddhist* temples in the West of India, we have to attend to the general history of Buddhism, and to the numerous inscriptions in an ancient character,—for long forgotten by the natives,—which they bear, especially at Kárlá, Kánherí, Násik, Knda, and Ajanta. For our knowledge of that character, we need scarcely say, we are principally indebted to the late Mr. James Prinsep, whose attention it particularly attracted, especially as it is found on certain ancient Indian coins and the pillar at Delhi, though in Bombay, as well as in other parts of India, he had his coadjutors in the work of seeking a key to it, as he very cordially acknowledged. The key to the character was found by his tracing backwards,—from the current Devanágari,—various forms of older letters, of which the Nágari is the maturer type adapted to more rapid writing than the original. Our own assurance respecting it was derived from a comparison of copperplate inscriptions, in the hands of Vishnu Shastri, in which we noticed the accordance in number and position of certain letters and words connected with initial salutations of the gods, and the royal signatures on other legible grants, which betokened an agreement in value in the respective characters, as was found to be the case when they were critically examined and compared. By following out this principle, we were able, during our visit to Europe, in 1844, to decipher certain papers in a concealed Indian hand which were essential to adjusting a decision passed by the Admiralty Court at the Cape, and which had long lain uninterpreted, and also to make out some of the most difficult letters which came into the hands of our vigilant officials during the late mutiny. We now see very clearly that the great trouble taken with the adjustment of the cave character would have been unnecessary if we had noticed sufficiently early its correspondence with the Phenician and Greek alphabets, from a combination of which it is manifestly derived, with most ingenious adaptations to the orthoepical expression of the Sanskrit and other languages, most creditable to the ingenuity of the Indians, or those by whom they were adapted to these languages.

The general history of Buddhism, as it bears on the age of the Buddhist excavations, may be referred to in a very brief

space. Towards the close of the Vedic age of the Aryas, the chief professional priests, or Brahmins, began to seek establishment as a caste, which was fully realized by them in the liturgical period, represented by the books called *Brahmatas*, which considered the Vedas as absolutely divine, put them under the care of professional priests, and set forth special rules for their use in sacrifice. To this exaltation of the Vedas, founded on their age and religious character, the thought of India, represented by the schools of philosophy, ran directly counter. Yet the founders of these schools had not the courage to attack the Vedas, even when as in the case of *Kapila*, the originator of the Sankhya school, they taught doctrines subversive of all recognition of a providence, and of decided atheistic tendency. However, Shakyas Muni, the founder of Buddhism, whose negation of providence and attributing of organic changes to nature and growth resembled the tenets of *Kapila*, in his opposition to the monopolies of the Brahmanic caste and power, cared but little for the authority either of the Brahmins or their books. He was of the kingly race; and he preached the doctrine of the admission of his fellowmen to religious position and privilege according to their study and ceremonial and moral discipline. A great religious revolution was the consequence of his preaching and that of his disciples, even before his death, which according to Professor Lassen, occurred in the year 543, or according to Dr. Max Müller, in the year 477, before Christ. To this revolution, the Indian emperor Ashoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, the Sandracottus of the Greeks, who came to the throne B. C. 315, attached himself; and he proved the instrument of its extensive propagation in the provinces of India into which it had not previously found entrance. He is supposed on good grounds by Dr. Max Müller to have come to the throne, B. C. 263; to have been inaugurated B. C. 259; and to have held a great Buddhist council B. C. 246 or 242. His Buddhist edicts are engraved on the rocks of Gírnir near Junagap in Kathiawar, at Dhauli in Kattak, and at Kapurdi Girí in Afghanistan; and they have the date of B. C. 246. By this time Buddhism must have been most extensively propagated in his vast dominions. Second and third Buddhist councils are attributed to him in the Mahavansha of Ceylon; but Dr. Max Müller considers them problematical. It is in connexion with the last of them which is said to have taken place in the seventeenth year of his reign, that the great propagation of Buddhism in the Maratha country is said to have taken place. The event is thus recorded:—

“The illuminator of the religion of the vanquisher, the thero (patriarch), son of Moggali, having terminated the third



convocation, was reflecting on futurity. Perceiving (that the time had arrived) for the establishment of the religion of Buddha in foreign countries, he dispatched severally in the month of Kattiko, the following theros to those foreign parts. He deputed the thero Majjhantiko to Kasmíra and Gandhara (not Kandahar), and the thero Mahadivo to Mahisamandala (Mysore). He deputed the thero Rakkhito to Wanavási (in the north of the Karnatic), and similarly the thero Yona Dharmarakkhito to Aparantaka: He deputed the thero Maha-Dharmarakkhito to Maharatta, and the thero Maharakkhito to the Yona (Yavana. or Bactrian) country. He deputed the thero Majjhino to the Himavanta country; and to Sowanabhumí, the two theros' sons and Uttaro. He deputed the thero Mahámahindo, together with his (Moggali's) disciples Ittiyo, Uttiyo, Sambalo, Bhaddasalo to this island (Ceylon), saying unto these five theros, 'Establish ye in the delightful land 'of Lanká the delightful religion of the vanquisher.\* According to the Mahavanso, these missionaries obtained most marvellous success. Of the missionary to the Maratha territory it is said:—'The sanctified disciple Maha-Dharmarakkhito, re-pairing to Maharatta, preached the *Mahanaradakassapo jutako* ' (of Buddha). Eighty-four thousand persons attained the sanctification of *magga*, (marga, the way) and thirteen thousand 'were ordained priests by him.†

The execution of caves in the Maratha country must have been contemporaneous with, or posterior to, this Buddhist propagandism. The southern group of caves at Elora, as has been remarked in the Second Memoir on the Cave Temples and Monasteries,‡ may be the oldest establishment of the kind in Western India,—as, comparatively speaking, it is in an open and easily approachable country, while many of the other establishments are in mountain recesses and passes; and as it is peculiarly simple in its character, and evidently the nucleus around which the other excavations in its neighbourhood—Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jaina, have been aggregated. This group, however, has no ancient inscription. It is otherwise with the caves at Kárlí, which, from their appearance, are probably next to them in point of antiquity. The founder of the elegant and capacious Chaitya there is referred to descriptively on the inscription in the largest letters there used, immediately

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\* Turner's Mahavanso, p. 71.

† Mahavanso, p. 75.

‡ Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, September, 1852.

above the elephants in the porch to the left hand as we enter. That inscription in Páli, transferred to Nagari characters reads thus :—

वेजयगीत सेठपा भूतपालेन सेलघर परिनिठापितं  
जंबुदीपक्षी उत्तम—

Or in Sanscrit.

विजयगीत श्रेष्ठेन भूतपालेन ह्यैलगृहं परिनिष्ठापितं  
जंबुद्वीपमठये उत्तमं—

This must be translated either, 'By the victorious and most exalted *Bhútapála*, this rock mansion has been established, the most excellent in Jambudvīpa, (the generic name of India); or 'By the victorious and most exalted sovereign (translating the word *Bhutapála*) this rock mansion has been established, the most excellent in Jambudvīpa.' The latter translation, we think, must be considered the correct one, or we should otherwise have the anomaly of a party mentioned without a designation, which is never the case even on the inscriptions noticing the humblest gifts to the caves.|| We hold that the inscription attributes the rock-cut temple 'to the victorious and most exalted emperor,' whose name, in consequence of his celebrity, it was unnecessary to mention. This, we conceive, can be no other person but Ashoka himself. In this idea, we are confirmed by the fact that his name is also not mentioned on the tablets at Girnár, Kapurdi-Giri, and Dhauli, which have been most clearly proved to belong to him. §

Dr. Stevenson, (whose decipherments are often very ingenious and successful,) interprets the inscription as containing the

|| We tried at one time to take the word *Sethina* before *Bhutapála* as the equivalent of, 'By the Shet', using the word as commonly applied to a principal citizen, merchant, or banker; but the epithet 'Victorious', or, more fully, 'celebrated for victory,' forbids this idea. *Bhútapála*, literally a 'protector of beings,' moreover, is not the name of a Shet, but of a king or emperor.

§ Professor Lassen, in a letter addressed to the writer, dated 22nd April, 1851, thus writes;—

'I agree with you in identifying the king *Devánám Priya Piyadasi* of the inscriptions at Girnár and at other places with *Ashoka*. Besides, the testimony of the *Mahavanso*, I adduce as a proof of their identity the repetition of that title by his successor *Dasharatha*, with the difference that he usually adds his own name to distinguish himself from his predecessor. Another instance of a title, being used instead of a proper name by the Buddhists is the name *Dharmavardhana* given to Ashoka's son *Kundla*. (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 270.) As *Ashoka's* authorship of the inscription found at Bhatra, in which he addresses the convention of *Magadha*, can hardly be doubted, it may be presumed that the others also are to be ascribed to him.'

name *Bhuti*, which he applies to *Devabhuti*, the last of the Mauryan kings (about seventy years B. C.); but no legitimate decipherment and translation warrants this, while a collateral argument, founded by Dr S., on an inscription on the lion pillar, fails, from the evident misreading of the first word of that inscription. The works of Kárlá are not those of a perishing but of a thriving dynasty. Dr. Stevenson himself finds the works of Ashoka at the Náná Ghát, near Junir; and to say the least, the works at Kárlá seem fully as ancient when the character of the letters of the inscriptions is compared. To Ashoka, then, the victorious, somewhat past the middle of the third century before Christ, we attribute the oldest of our Buddhist excavations in the West of India.

The inscriptions at these excavations mention the names of the parties by whom they were beautified and enlarged and increased, mostly in times somewhat later. These were principally provincial kings and princes, civil and military officers, opulent householders, citizens, artizans, Buddhist pilgrims, and monks, of various orders and habits, and even females. All the more important classes of the people seemed to delight to consecrate their substance to the glorification of Buddha and the advancement of the interests of his faith, which thus appears to have been far more popular than ever Bráhmanism was. To specimens of the religious assignments and gifts of individuals, as brought to notice in the inscriptions, we may here allude, as illustrative of these remarks. The lion-pillar at Kárlá, in connexion with which we take our specimens, was the gift of the general Agnimitra, the son of the Maharathí (literally a great charioteer, but a designation of a provincial king or administrator) *Bhoti*. The village of *Vihár*, near the caves, was assigned for the support of their religionists, in the seventh year of king *Vasishthai* by *Mitradeva* the son of the Maharathí *Kaushika*, and by *Somadeva*, the son of the Maharathí *Vasishtha*. By a party whose name is obliterated, a donation of land, a place for refreshment of parties ascending the hill of the caves, a *Buddhashálá* (or hall of Buddha) a well, and some cells of accommodation, were bestowed on the establishment. By the liberality of another party the monks became the proprietors of the neighbouring village of *Karanjá*. By *Bhadrasoma*, a monk, two pairs of images were executed, which remain to this day. A pillar in the interior was the gift of a party expressly denominated a *Yavana* or Greek, supposed by ourselves, when we first drew attention to it, to be a *Theonikos*, and afterwards by Dr. Stevenson to be a *Xenocrates*. The name in *Páli* reads *Dhanakkaj* or *Dhanakak*. Perhaps it

may be only an Indian appellation of the Greek derived from some compound of *Dhanushya*, a bow, the last syllable being hardened for accommodation to the Páli. To this opinion Vishnu Shástrí, the Pandit of the Cave-Commission, was inclined. That this Greek had to do with the construction of the caves is exceedingly probable. All classes of the excavations already enumerated, and their immoveable appurtenances, were often the gifts of individuals, quite independent of state resources. Various towns and villages, the residences of the donors to the caves at various places, are mentioned in the notices of the gifts, as Vehergaum and Karanjá (now named), Kalyán, Bhároch, Chandrapur (Chandor) etc. The words used for gifts are *dánam*, the correspondent of the Latin *donum*, and *deyadham*, for S. *Deyadharma*, a religious assignation, and so forth. Some of the most liberal donations to the Buddhist establishments are recorded on the Násik excavations.

The inscriptions extend, we are persuaded, over a period of seven or eight hundred years, if we take them to commence as we do with the time of Ashoka. This is quite consistent with the fact that the Chinese travellers, whose works have been lately translated, found Buddhism prevalent in India in the fifth and in the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian era. The Brahmans attribute its overthrow to Shankaráchárya, the great establisher of the Shaiva form of the Hindu religion in the south of India; but there was something more applied to its extinction than the arguments of that keen and subtle hero of Bráhmanism. Throughout the Maratha country, there are commemorative pillars (first brought to notice by Colonel Sykes) which have figures representing the destruction of the Buddhist religionists by armed warriors, and the dance and triumph of the bull of Shiva over them, and round the symbol with which it is usually associated. Terrible must have been the violence which extinguished such a popular system of religion as Buddhism in the very provinces in which it originated, and in which it was first propagated, though it has still such a hold of the great countries of Asia exterior to India. Though we mourn over the bloodshed by which it was annihilated, we do not regret that it has here perished. When the existence of a divine and intelligent and active providence is denied, as it was by the Buddhists, the soul of man is bereft of its supreme good and guide; and the universe of both spirit and matter is involved in the darkness and confusion of chaos. Its power, as a system, over the minds of men was certainly not so much in its speculations and doctrines as in its discipline and its recognition of the right of all classes

of men to advance in religious acquisition, distinction and privilege, according to their study, profession, and practice.

We have not attempted to form a critical estimate of the excavations of the West of India as works of art; neither time nor space have permitted us to do this. Neither have we entered on such minute notices of their religious and historical import as long conversancy with them might have tempted us to do. We have aimed rather at those generalizations which are most interesting and important. We have here given the results of long continued and difficult research, begun and carried on from motives very different from that of the indulgence of the idle curiosity of one who merely gathers

Intaglios rude, old pottery, and store  
Of mutilated gods of stone, and scraps  
Of barbarous epitaphs, to be  
Among the learned the theme of warm debate,  
And infinite conjecture sagely wrong.

Historical truth is not to be found so easily in India as in other countries of the world. It is here in a state of comparative purity, we regret to say it, only in the ancient monuments of the country. These monuments, which are of an unequivocal character, have best withstood the ravages of time the great destroyer; and religious fraud, repelled by their venerable antiquity or exhausted in the attempt to entomb their magnitude, or to annihilate their multitude, or to efface their permanent records, has failed to destroy them or to effect their corruption. They have survived the departure of their authors and the destruction of the religious systems to which they belonged; and they tell their own tale in spite of their appropriation by sects and parties which had nothing to do with their origin, and many of which have come into existence subsequently to their execution and completion. They have proved too solid for the sledge-hammer of the Musalman entirely to mutilate them; and too incombustible for the fires of the Lusitanian to consume or rend them in pieces. They still exist, though commonly in a decaying state, for comparison with the ancient literary remains of India, confirming what little of historical truth is to be found in these records, and illustrating their erroneous, though sublimated, speculations, and their wild and unbridled mythology, with all its perversions and exaggerations. They are the credentials of the genius, taste, wealth, and power of ancient India, showing the natural capacity of the peoples among whom we dwell. The interpretation and exposition of them by the

European orientalist to the simple natives who have access to them, have destroyed their belief in their divine origin, and deprived the systems of living error around them of that veneration associated with them which they enjoyed when they were believed to be the undoubted property of these systems, and the veritable works of the gods who are now worshipped ; while they have taught some of the learned natives the principles of historical investigation. They testify to all, of transactions and changes, both civil and religious, which have occurred in ages long gone by, among a people too long supposed to be immoveable in their creeds and customs, and to have preserved only an attitude of sublime or stupid repose like their own images. Such testimony cannot but strengthen the conviction that the obstacles to the important changes which Christian philanthropy leads us to desiderate, and solemn duty and delightful privilege lead us to attempt, may in reality be much less formidable than they appear to be to the view of the timid and inconsiderate. The few individuals comparatively who have directed their literary attention to them, have received, in their recognition of these facts, a rich reward for what they have done in their elucidation. Our learned and popular societies observe the highest end of their incorporation, when their members combine for the prosecution of the work of their more extended investigation. The Government of India pursues an economical as well as a liberal and enlightened policy, when it adopts decided measures for their conservation and complete or general delineation.

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ART. II.—1. *The District Municipal Improvement Act.*

2. *Act III of 1894 of the Bengal Legislative Council.*

3. *Gazette of India Extraordinary.*—14th September, 1864.

THE extension of Municipal institutions throughout India, presents a most interesting phase in the administration of the country; and among the numerous beneficial reforms which have of late years been introduced into almost every department of the State, perhaps none will be attended with more important and permanent results. The Legislature has been working hand in hand with the Executive, and a great step in progress has been made towards local self-government and the encouragement of liberal principles. It is but two short years since the City of Calcutta was clothed with the semblance of civic grandeur, and a body of European and native Justices invited to interest themselves in the improvement of the capital of India. The Mofussil Municipal Act of Bengal, though passed little more than a year ago, is already in force in nearly every District of the Lower Provinces, while the *Calcutta Gazette* from time to time tells of further extension. During the last Session of the Imperial Legislative Council, an Act was passed legalizing the extension of the Lucknow Municipal Act to other towns under the immediate administration of the Government of India. The Madras Government has, moreover, been engaged in doing for that Presidency what the present Lieutenant-Governor has done for Bengal. Everywhere, on this side of India at least, there has of late been manifested a general movement in favour of Municipal Institutions which cannot but have arrested the attention of all those who are interested in the social and material prosperity of the country.

The causes which have led to such a movement are various, and in their nature more or less remote. The work of the present day in India is to consolidate our rule, by distributing, and decentralizing as it were, the functions of Government—to perfect a mechanism of wheels within wheels, whereby the whole system shall move in harmony. The increased extent of our Empire, has called forth a host of Lieutenant-Governors and pro-consuls. The same necessity has given rise to local Legislative Councils. The same principle is visible in the arrangements regarding local funds. Without such division of labour,

it would be impossible for the work of Government to go on. It would be impossible for the Viceroy to govern now on the régime, that was in force in the time of Lord Cornwallis, when every petty detail of Executive administration required the assent of the Governor-General in Council. And such division of labour proves not only the progress, but the increasing stability of our Empire. It shows that we are alive to the exigencies of our position, and that we are not only able, but not unwilling, where necessary, to tread the thorny path of reform. Arising from the same tendency, another step in the right direction is being made in the establishment of self-governing corporations throughout the country. As it is impossible for the ruler of a large empire to administer the details of each individual province, so it would be a task almost superhuman for a Lieutenant-Governor to attempt to control the minor affairs of every town or district. The tree must bear branches and those branches twigs, if it is to put forth foliage, such as may be the source of health and beauty. Again the annual influx of non-official Europeans, at once the cause and the effect of India's increasing prosperity, has now rendered that possible which but a few years ago would have been justly regarded as an absurdity and a farce. True that much assistance may now be looked for from the more influential natives, taught by an enlightened education to rise superior to the prejudices of their countrymen. But whatever progress civilization may have made in this respect, it will hardly be denied that the state of native opinion beyond the limits of the Presidency Towns is even yet scarce ripe for the mighty change that has been introduced; scarce ripe enough to appreciate the benefits and responsibilities of a self-government, even in so limited a sphere as a municipality. And therefore it is, we say, that the European element is necessary to the very idea of such institutions.

Nor perhaps, in taking account of the causes which have led to the extension of a system of self-government and self-taxation, should we omit to regard the financial aspect of the country. However satisfactory the budgets of the last two or three years, it would seem that the Imperial revenue cannot well bear additional charges without the imposition of illegitimate, or what are usually designated 'war' taxes. It has, therefore, been ruled, and most justly, that local improvements be paid for by local taxation, and that charges incurred for the benefit of a special class or locality should not be defrayed from Imperial resources. This is but consonant with the principles of justice. Taxation thus imposed will be more in accordance



with a spirit of fairness, while at the same time it will seem more moderate. For not only will the public at large cease to contribute special grants for the benefit of particular localities, but that portion of the public, which will henceforth be called on to contribute, although the demand may be heavier, will grudge it the less, as witnessing and enjoying the visible results, while Imperial taxation will really (though perhaps imperceptibly) diminish. And as this is undoubtedly the true theory of taxation, any step in this direction cannot but be wise and good—and as such, deserving of our highest approbation.

Lastly, the labours of the Sanitary Commission, revealing as they did a state of things scarce to be believed, urged upon the Government the necessity of taking more adequate measures for the moral and physical well-being of its people. And this consideration probably operated more powerfully than any of those previously enumerated. For it cannot be denied that the immediate cause of the enactment of the District Municipal Improvement Act was the devastation occasioned by the epidemic which raged in the environs of Calcutta, during the summer and autumn of the year 1863.\* That epidemic was the result of overgrown jungle, of neglected cesspools and impure tanks—and, leading men to search for causes, it naturally brought such nuisances into the light of day. It was manifest then, that if the race of Bengalees was worth preserving and was to be preserved, some strenuous action must be taken by a parental government, without trusting too blindly to the native instincts of self-preservation. The population was being decimated—Kraueedom was at stake. And so the jungle was cleared, the tanks filled, and everything made to wear the outward signs at least of cleanliness and respectability. And then followed the chastisement, for so it seemed to the ignorant, the listless, and the apathetic. The legislature interfered, and Act III of 1864 became the law of Bengal. Filth and uncleanness must be eradicated at any price; the pocket must be sacrificed for the sake of health. Taxation and penal statutes must enforce the ordinary precautions for the public safety and convenience, seeing that without such sanctions they had been so shamefully neglected. The Bengalees felt like naughty boys, who after being saved from drowning, are called up to be whipped for venturing on the ice.

We should be inexcusably digressing from our present subject, were we to suffer ourselves to enter upon an enquiry as to the origin of Municipal Institutions. Such an enquiry

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\* Vide statement of objects and reasons appended to the Bill.

would doubtless be most interesting, but like all matters of antiquity, it would also be involved in considerable obscurity and doubt. It will suffice for our purpose briefly to state the causes which led to the introduction and wide extension of such institutions throughout Europe, and then to compare the state of the case, as it existed in ancient or pre-British India.

The incorporation of towns and cities appears to have been a proceeding peculiar to western Europe. Deriving its origin from the internal constitution of the Greek and Roman colonies, the principle seems to have extended itself during the feudal ages almost over the whole continent. It has been doubted, whether its extension was a consequence of the feudal or of the allodial system, but it may, we think, be stated with truth, that, wherever neither the one nor the other system obtained, Municipal Institutions were not of spontaneous growth. The insecurity of property, owing to the violence and rapacity of the almost independent barons, led the inhabitants of towns to combine together for their mutual protection, and the interests of trade; while the monarch, seeing in such combinations a powerful instrument of resistance to the growing arrogance of his lords, was ever ready to confer upon them by royal charter privileges and liberties of the highest value to those concerned. These privileges consisted chiefly of exemptions from arbitrary taxation and emancipation from villeinage. They were generally at the same time 'erected into a commonalty or corporation, with the privilege of having magistrates and a town-council of their own, of making by-laws for their own government, of building walls for their own defence and of reducing all their inhabitants under a sort of military discipline, by obliging them to watch and ward; that is, as anciently understood, to guard and defend those walls against all attacks and surprises by night as well as by day. In England, they were generally exempted from suit to the hundred and county courts; and all such pleas as should arise among them, the pleas of the crown excepted, were left to the decision of their own magistrates. In other countries much greater and more extensive jurisdictions were frequently granted to them.\*

Thus the free boroughs, while bound to the sovereign by all the instincts of gratitude and mutual interest, resembled a sort of independent commonwealth as regarded their internal polity. And there can be no doubt that neither Magna Charta

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\* Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. P. 177. MacCulloch's Edition.

nor the civil war achieved more for the individual liberties of the subject, than was wrought by the noiseless, yet no less powerful, action of free commonalties. Indeed in other countries, as Italy or Switzerland, such institutions did actually become independent republics, the central Government having lost all energy and the allodial lords being completely overpowered and disarmed. Circumstances preserved England, however, from such a consummation. While such institutions did their work, and did it well, in relieving the crown from the management of all insignificant details connected with them, they were never allowed to usurp the higher functions of Government. They never became really and altogether independent. The sovereign's authority was never entirely laid aside. The nobility was never overpowered. And the consequence is, that even to the present day, the 'three estates' still flourish in England and supply that triple form of Government which has made our constitution the envy of the whole earth. It is, moreover, in constitutional England, that municipal corporations as such, have attained the highest degree of perfection, and we cannot but think it highly suggestive of the Anglo-Saxon character, that the most aristocratic nation perhaps in the world—a nation that abhors the very sound of democracy and universal suffrage,—should thus take the lead in the application of the principles of self-government to the ordinary matters of municipal life. It seems to show that however aristocratic we English may fancy ourselves, there is not another nation on the face of the earth, the members of which interest themselves so much in the matter of their own governance, and it further exhibits that good sense, which nevertheless restrains the popular element from yielding to the temptation to seize the sceptre for itself—content to sacrifice ideas to fixed principles and to leave the imperial administration to wise and experienced statesmen. And thus it is that such institutions have become dear to Englishmen, who have not only cultivated them with success at home, but wherever they have dispersed throughout the world, have carried with them these evidences of their nationality. In all our colonies municipalities have sprung up sooner or later.

There are those who think they see in the village communities of the ancient Hindus the traces of a municipal constitution. It is difficult at this distance of time to predicate with certainty whether or not they fulfilled the conditions of such a corporation—or were merely a family possessed of common property and working for the common weal. Perhaps we should do well to agree with Mr. Maine in regarding even such

a family as a corporation. In his excellent work on *Ancient Law*, he gives a character to these ancient communities, according to which they would seem to have possessed many, if not all, the functions of a municipality. 'Such an assemblage of joint proprietors, a body of kindred holding a domain in common, is the simplest form of an Indian Village Community, but the Community is more than a brotherhood of relatives and more than an association of partners. It is an organised society, and besides providing for the management of the common fund, it seldom fails to provide, by a complete staff of functionaries, for internal Government, for police, for the administration of justice, and for the apportionment of taxes and public duties.\*' Regarded in this aspect, they probably corresponded very nearly with the Saxon 'tithings' or towns, and the headman, mandal, patel, or whatever he might be called, would answer to the tithingman or head-borough. From the Saxon towns undoubtedly sprang, spontaneously or by charter, those municipal corporations, which had been perfected into their present form. And it is, therefore, not impossible, that the germs of such a constitution may have existed in the Indian village communities, though circumstances have not been favorable to its development. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that it was not every Saxon town that had the honour of being incorporated. It was only, where from its political importance, or from considerations arising out of its finance and commerce, that the sovereign was willing to forego a portion of his prerogative, and confer upon the commonalty a charter of freedom. The Indian communities, on the other hand, were purely agricultural. Such trade as was then carried on was managed by foreigners, and was chiefly confined to raw materials, precious stones, and ivory. And the revenue of such communities being derived solely from the produce of the land, the wisdom of the ancients did not consider it sound policy to farm that revenue in fee. The circumstances therefore, which probably led to the independence and self-government of European towns, had no vital existence in the East. It may be, that no condition of things could have been more favorable in itself to the municipal system, than the constitution of the early Hindu communities, had only external circumstances been such as to foster their growth. And if so, the re-construction of such corporations cannot fairly be regarded as an innovation, but should rather be looked upon as an encouragement of

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\* P. 262. The passage appears to be epitomised from Mountstuart Elphinstone's *History*, p. 62.

what Mr. Maine calls 'the least indestructible institution of a society which never willingly surrenders any one of its usages to innovation.'

The Mogul dynasty, however, was not favorable to the growth of free institutions, especially among a conquered and alien race, and accordingly we find that these ancient communities pined and languished in its ungenial atmosphere. Such institutions would scarce accord with the poetry of oriental despotism. The appearance of a mayor and corporation in the days of Harun al-Rashid would rob the Arabian Nights of half its grand simplicity and (for us) fictitious interest. The summary justice or injustice, dealt (not meted) out at the arbitrary will of the Pasha or Grand Vizier, startles men accustomed to 'the law's delay.' And this was not mere fiction. The whole system of Mahomedan government was one huge despotism—from highest to lowest a shameless bare-faced system of autocratic tyranny. An absolute Emperor ruled at the capital: an absolute Soubah managed the province: an absolute cutwal the town. It may be doubted, indeed, whether the last was not in his own peculiar sphere a more powerful despot than either of the former. Merchants and bankers crowded to pay court to one, on whose whim the security of their property and perhaps lives depended. The government of the city was in the highest degree arbitrary. Justice and morality waited upon the pleasure of the town Prefect, and obeyed no other law than that of his will and caprice. It was not to be expected that, in the midst of this universal tendency to despotism, those institutions should flourish which, while they usefully supplement the functions of the central Government, protect the people at the same time from arbitrary taxation and possible injustice. As soon should we expect to find a republic or a representative House of Commons, where the Mogul Emperors were issuing their edicts. The thing was alien to the spirit of the East. An Oriental will either be a tyrant or a slave. It has been so from time immemorial; it is the case now; will it always continue to be so?

Yet it must be admitted, that altogether, the people were not badly governed during the Mahomedan period of history. The country indeed attained a high degree of prosperity, notwithstanding frequent wars and disputes among the powers themselves. The form of government was perhaps suited to the times. If the modes of procedure were unconstitutional, they had at least the merit of being summary and decisive. Nor were public works neglected. The main roads were kept in a state of excellent repair—a necessity in every country which

is held by force of arms. To dig a tank, or plant a mango grove, had from the earliest times been deemed a work of religious philanthropy. And the government was not slow to set a good example to private individuals. It was then the fashion—a fashion which in these last times has again come into vogue—for autocratic Emperors to display their power and render themselves famous by the erection of magnificent public buildings. Shahjehán rebuilt the city of Delhi—a task which the present Municipal Commissioners would scarcely be prepared to undertake—and if the country at large had to bear the enormous expense which it must have entailed, the people nevertheless had the satisfaction of gazing upon a capital of extraordinary magnificence, and no doubt admired and revered the more the prince whose revenues were equal to so gigantic a work. And not only were favored royal residences thus splendidly embellished, but all those cities of which travellers have left any description, whether situated in Hindu or Mahomedan territory, seem to have been rich and flourishing at this period. “Those who look on India in its present state,” Elphinstone writes, “may be inclined to suspect the native writers of exaggerating its former prosperity, but the deserted cities, ruined palaces, and choked-up aqueducts which we still see, with the great reservoirs and embankments in the midst of jungles, and the decayed causeways, wells, and caravanserais of the royal roads, concur with the evidence of contemporary travellers in convincing us that those historians had good grounds for their commendation.”\* The Department of Public Works was certainly not idle in those days, and yet we have no record of any loan being raised to meet its expenditure.

The English rule had been established for upwards of half a century in India, before any attempt was made to extend the principles of self-government, so dear to our fellow countrymen. There were valid reasons for this delay. The material on which to work was not ready to hand. We had wrested the Empire from the unworthy grasp of the Mogul dynasty, and, as we have already seen, the atmosphere had not been favourable for the growth of liberal principles. The ancient Hindu communities, at least in the north of India, had well-nigh disappeared, and it was hardly to be expected that they would at once start into life again to reflower in all their pristine simplicity and usefulness. It was impossible to build up free institutions on the ruins of the Mahomedan Empire. Where was to be found the fit representative of his fellow-citizens? Where was

the self-respect, the probity, the political honour requisite for so responsible a trust? With the tyranny of Islam, truth and honesty seemed to have well-nigh vanished from the land; free-thinking and free-speech were proscribed; individual opinion was a thing almost unheard of. It was not to be expected that men, accustomed for long generations to be ruled with a rod of iron, would suddenly rise superior to themselves, and claim the benefits of a civilized self-government. It could not be so, and it was justly thought to be the wiser course to rule the nations as they had been ruled—perhaps a trifle more cheaply and more equitably,—and wait patiently until the blessings of a civilized government and education had accommodated them to a new régime.

The Magistrate of the Zillah was accordingly made responsible for its good government in every way, and not the least important of his duties was the maintenance of order in the towns. Three cities, Patna, Dacca, and Moorshedabad, owing to their size and importance, thus came to have their own magistrates, who, with the aid of the cutwal, doubtless exercised a benevolent non-regulation despotism. It seems to have been the abolition of town duties in 1835, as a source of fiscal revenue in Bengal, that suggested the consideration of the feasibility of associating the inhabitants of towns, into regularly constituted civic bodies. In that year Sir William Macnaughten, then Secretary to the Government of India, thus addressed the Bombay Government. ‘The attention of the Supreme Government has recently been directed to the question of providing means for carrying into effect such Municipal improvements as may be necessary or desirable for the security or comfort of the numerous opulent and populous towns throughout India. It has occurred to his Lordship in Council, that as the town-duties have now been given up within the Presidency of Fort William, in Bengal, the inhabitants of the large towns may fairly be called upon to contribute to defraying the expense of such improvements as are required for their own convenience &c.’ And so the first Municipal law for the Mofussil was passed on the 14th October, 1842. By Act X of that year entitled ‘an Act for enabling the inhabitants of any place of public resort or residence under the presidency of Fort William, not within the town of Calcutta, to make better provision for purposes connected with public health and convenience,’ the local government was authorized to establish a municipal committee in any town, suburb, settlement, or place of public resort and residence, on the application of at least two-thirds of the inhabitants. The duties of the committee were defined to be, to make better

provision for the repairing, cleansing, lighting, draining or watching of any public streets, roads, drains, tanks, or any like local purpose. The committee were further empowered to raise funds for the above purpose by an assessment not exceeding 5 per cent per annum on the rent or yearly value of the premises assessed. The remainder of the Act contains provisions for enforcement of the rates and for the surveillance of the local Government. Eight years afterwards this Act was repealed, it having 'proved ineffectual for the purpose'—and, it being considered 'expedient to amend the provisions thereof, and to extend the like powers to the inhabitants of towns in the other presidencies,' Act XXVI of 1850 became law. Like its forerunner, this Act was also optional law, and could be introduced into any town only 'at the instance and upon the spontaneous expression of a general desire on the part of its inhabitants.' To be sure the stumbling-block, which required the adhesion of at least *two-thirds* of the inhabitants was omitted, but the matter was, as before, left entirely to them, and they could have just as much or just as little of the Act as they chose. They were not obliged to obey any portion of it, to which they had the slightest objection. The government stood towards its subjects much as a shy boy regards an apple on the dessert-table, but is afraid to ask for it, or as a weak mother, who knows medicine to be good for her child, hesitates to administer the dose for fear of a scene. The procedure required to legalize the introduction of this Act is sufficiently unique to deserve mention. The inhabitants of a Mofussil town or suburb are supposed in the first instance to be animated by a laudable desire to make 'better provision for repairing, cleansing, lighting, or watching any public streets, &c, or for the prevention of nuisances, or for improving the said town or suburb in any other manner.' And this praiseworthy zeal is further supposed to carry the inhabitants so far as to apply to Government for the extension of the Act. The application is accordingly published in the *Gazette* and also proclaimed within the town or suburb—and the inhabitants are invited to declare themselves for or against that for which they are supposed to have petitioned already. The Government taking into consideration such declarations as might be forthcoming, made a final order 'to the effect that the application appears or does not appear to be according to the wishes of the inhabitants, either wholly or in respect to one or more of the purposes in respect of which it is made; and, if the whole or any part it shall appear to be according to the wishes of the inhabitants,' the Act is thenceforth put in force in such town or suburb 'for such purposes only as shall be mentioned in the order.' We have said



that the procedure of the Act *was supposed* to be followed, because it is well-known that in reality such rarely was the case. The inhabitants seldom were animated by a laudable desire to tax themselves for purposes of conservancy: they seldom did manifest the slightest anxiety to pay for cleaning or repairing the streets and drains. Where the Act was put in force, it was either through the efforts of a few European residents, or on a suggestion made by Government to the Magistrate of the district. The procedure in such a case was not exactly that contemplated by the law. The application would contain the signatures of the European residents and perhaps two or three influential natives, who had been talked over by the Magistrate, who were anxious to stand well and obtain favour in the eyes of the Government, and who perhaps thought that a seat on the committee would add no little to their dignity and social status. This achieved, the difficulty was overcome. To be sure, the letter of the law must be complied with. The application must be published, and the rest of the loyal and public-spirited inhabitants invited to declare their wishes. And in some few instances, perhaps the movement here received its death blow—and the multitude of petitions against the introduction of the Act swamped the Magistrate's worthy intention. For the most part, however, we believe that, whether to be attributed to fear or apathy or any other cause, there was a lamentable and conspicuous absence of declarations on either side. Freedom of speech has not yet become one of the blessings of English rule, to be prized by *individual* natives. Silence, however, was taken for consent, and the motion was considered carried by the negative adhesion of the inhabitants. If it is true, that the Government connived at this surreptitious mode of introducing the provisions of the Act, it can hardly excite our surprise, considering with whom it had to deal and the grand mistake of the legislature. Had the Government not connived, but had the strict letter of the law been in every instance carried out, it may be presumed that the Act would have had but a very limited sphere for its operation. Possibly the procedure was not in all respects legal. But the legislature, with a prescience worthy of a better cause, had provided against such a contingency by Section 5, which enacted 'that the said order shall be conclusive evidence that the provisions of this Act have been complied with.'

As the Act was intended to apply to all three Presidencies, and as matters of detail would depend in great measure on locality, progress of civilization, and other varying circumstances, its provisions were extremely general—it being left to the Executive in each case to legalize the particulars of the Municipal

constitution. The Commissioners were required to propose a set of rules, which, after approval of the Local Government, were of equal force with the provisions of the Act. The Rules were to provide for the subordinate Establishment of the Municipality, the collection of a Municipal Fund, whether by House-assessment, Town-duties, or otherwise, and its disposal, the amendment of the Rules, and the definition and punishment of nuisances. The Act was extended to some few towns in Bengal—but its operation was extremely limited, and like its predecessor, it proved ineffectual for the purpose. The reason of the failure was undoubtedly the optional character of its provisions.

It was quite time, then, that the false cloak should be cast aside—that the Act should no longer be said to be introduced at the desire of those, who in many instances were known to be violently opposed to it—that the Government should dare to do what it wanted, openly and without having recourse to such transparent devices. And so the Council of Bengal stepped forward nobly, and demolishing with a single stroke of the pen all the flimsy fabric of Act XXVI of 1850, asserted the right of the Executive to dispense with the wishes of the inhabitants (whether expressed or otherwise), and to extend the Municipal system to any town or tract of country in the vicinity, whenever it shall be pleased so to exert its prerogative. We admire the spirit and independence of this provision. It seems to say, that the natives have been tried and found wanting—that they were not sufficiently advanced to appreciate such liberal treatment—that the European harness would not fit, and so there must be a retrograde movement to the dynastic yoke of Oriental autocracy. They must be *made* to govern themselves.

In 1856, an Act was passed to make better provision for the appointment and maintenance of Police Chowkeydars in cities, towns, stations, suburbs and bazars in the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal. This was essentially a Police Act—legalizing the levy of a city Police force by the Magistrates, and its payment by means of local taxation, either by an assessment according to the circumstances and property to be protected, or by a rate on houses and grounds according to their annual value. The surplus proceeds of such taxation was to be devoted to the purpose of cleaning the town, or of lighting, or of otherwise improving the same. Here were all the functions of a Municipality, but the *civic* corporation was wanting—and the Municipal duties were left to be performed by an over-worked Magistrate, assisted by a nominal punchayet, which in point of fact, however, was always a nonentity.

'In the Code of Criminal Procedure, Act XXV of 1861, a chapter was introduced 'Of Local nuisances'—whereby considerable powers are conferred upon Magistrates regarding the prevention or removal of public nuisances. The powers would indeed vie with the arbitrary nature of oriental government, were it not for the privilege of appeal to a jury from the Magistrate's order. But this privilege again is nullified by the proviso that the majority of the jury shall be the Magistrate's nominees.

In close connection with this subject, moreover, should be regarded the several Ferry-Fund Committees—a body of gentlemen selected by Government to assist the local authorities in the management of such roads, bridges, &c. as are not under the control of the Department of Public Works. These gentlemen are, as it were, trustees for the roads of the District, as in England the Justices of the Peace for the county through which a road passes are *ex officio* Commissioners of the Trust. The funds at their disposal are supposed to be the surplus receipts of the public ferries in the District—an appropriation being annually granted from the Amalgamated District Road Fund. The general objects to be kept in view in the administration of these revenues are, by Regulation VI of 1819, declared to be the maintenance of an efficient Police, the safety and convenience of travellers, the facility of commercial intercourse, and the expeditious transport of troops. 'If in any case there shall remain a clear surplus profit after providing adequately for those purposes, the amount collected shall be applied solely to the furtherance of similar objects, such as the repair or construction of roads, bridges and drains, the erection of serais, or other works of a like nature.' The Ferry Fund Committee is therefore a corporation, working with limited powers for the interests of the whole District and not merely of a town.

Having thus traced the origin of Municipal institutions in Bengal, and reviewed the previous legislation on the subject, we shall now proceed to examine more minutely the constitution of a Municipality, as regard its powers and duties, and the means it possesses of exercising those powers and fulfilling those duties. And we shall endeavour to illustrate our remarks from time to time by criticising the Act and Resolution placed at the head of this paper.

A Municipality has been defined as 'a body politic or corporate established in some town to protect the interests of its inhabitants as such, and the maintenance of order therein, and consisting of the burgesses or freemen, that is, such persons as are duly and legally admitted as members of the corporate

body.' Without entering at present on any discussion of the last clause, the duties of a commonalty may be summed up in the improvement of the town and the maintenance of order therein, and its powers should be commensurate with the attainment of these objects and no others. For the sake of convenience, we shall discuss these duties under the four-heads of Police, Roads, Conservancy, and Improvements.

The subject of Municipal Police has been thoroughly treated in the very able Resolution of the Governor-General in Council, in the Financial Department, and there can be but little to add to the interesting facts and conclusive arguments of this valuable State-Paper. Towns, as being the centres of wealth and industry, offer superior facilities for, and incentives to, crime, and therefore it is that the security of life and property therein demands greater attention than in the country at large. It is not unreasonable to expect that those who benefit from the existence of towns, should be called upon to defray the cost of the Police, which is necessary for their security and convenience. If there are advantages to trade from the congregation of numbers in the same place, and if, owing to that very congregation, a watch and ward is absolutely indispensable for the protection of life and property, it not unnaturally follows that the townspeople should pay for that, from which they alone derive any direct advantage. It is, on the other hand, most unreasonable and unfair to charge such expenditure against the general revenues, to tax residents in the country for the convenience of residents in towns. This sound principle has of late been gaining ground in India, and the occasion is now ripe for its universal adoption. From the earliest times each village community supported its chowkeydar—an institution unduly fostered by us in all its effecteness, but shortly, we trust, to be remodelled on a sounder basis. When large and opulent cities sprang up, there was some difficulty in harmonising the idea of a commonalty-police with the arbitrary and lawless character of the Government. It was impossible for the community to control its Police. The custodians of the public safety were the followers and satellites of the town-prefect. They merely did his bidding and their procedure was martial law. The towns-people paid for them undoubtedly. But only because they were obliged, or with the view of appeasing their rapacity, not because they regarded them as the means of security to life and property. We may be sure that the indiscriminate oppression practised by these functionaries was far from being acceptable to the citizens,—who would gladly have been relieved from the burden of having such unpleasant protectors quartered upon

them. It has thus been left to the English, to perfect a system of Municipal Police for the towns of India. We have already adverted to the provisions of the Chowkeydaree Act, and it only remains shortly to consider the further legislation on the subject, in the Municipal Act under review. Section 34 says, 'The Municipal Commissioners shall set apart, *out of the annual rate*, a sum sufficient for the maintenance of Police Officers, appointed under Act XX of 1856 or Act V of 1861 (for the regulation of Police.) Provided that the number of Police Officers to be so maintained shall not exceed the proportion of one Police Officer to twenty-five houses.' And from Section 15, it is obvious that the maintenance of a Police is the first duty of a Municipality. The cost is to be defrayed by a rate on houses, buildings, and land—a mode of taxation, which will be considered hereafter. We only call attention to it now, because the law expressly provides that such shall be the method of raising funds sufficient for the maintenance of a Police Force. Two things then are worthy of remark in connection with this subject; first, that the maintenance of a Municipal Police is obligatory upon every town where Act III of 1864 of the Bengal Council has been introduced, and secondly, that the requisite funds must be raised in a particular way, viz., by house-assessment. In both respects the law only re-enacts the provisions of the Chowkeydaree Act, so that we may say that that Act has been embodied in the present Municipal Law of Bengal. But to what extent should the Municipality be charged with the cost of the city-police? The question is one of no easy solution. The Commission appointed in 1863, to enquire into the Police of the North-West Provinces, urge that 'all the Police employed in duties, the performance of which is necessitated solely by the existence of the town, should be defrayed by the municipalities. These duties are the watch and ward of streets, bazars, serais, and ghâts, the protection of life and property, the preservation of peace, and the prevention and detection of crime within the town.' The Commission further contend that another body of Police paid from the State revenues, should be maintained in each city as the head-quarters of the watch of the surrounding country and for the performance of Government duty in the guard of Government property, the serving of processes and the custody of prisoners. It is impossible to fix the exact proportion in which to divide the cost of Police between the municipality and the Government. But probably no fairer method could be devised than that suggested by the Commission, taken in conjunction with the proviso of the Act fixing the maximum number of Police to be entertained at the expense of the

community. It is important, however, that the efficiency of the Police should not be nullified by the evil of conflicting orders or too many masters. As regards discipline, the force should be under the charge of the District Superintendent. But at the same time the municipality should have the power of recommending how its funds should be appropriated, and the Police would of course be available for the prevention and detection of nuisances punishable under the Act. We quote again from the Resolution :—‘ It should be established as a principle throughout British India, that although the number and grades of the Municipal Police must be fixed with the sanction of the Local Government, and the Municipal Police must be under the same general superintendence as the Rural Police, the wishes of the municipal bodies will, as far as possible, be consulted in all that relates to the number and the internal administration of the Police of their respective Towns.’ The Municipality especially should take care to provide a sufficient number to afford patrols by night as well as by day, and should demand that such patrols be actually on duty, to give the alarm of fires and prevent obstructions in the street.

The next duty incumbent upon a Municipality is the construction or repair of roads and streets within the city. This is obviously necessary for the convenience of the inhabitants themselves, and if they regard with favour the commercial prosperity of their town, they will scarcely stop short at this point, but contribute moreover to such public works, as bridges, canals, and the like, as will facilitate and improve its trade. The roads of Bengal may be classed under three heads, the main or trunk roads under the control of the Executive, the cross roads, which are kept in repair by the Magistrate of the district, or by the Ferry Fund Committee (where such exists) out of an annual appropriation from the Amalgamated District Road Fund, and lastly the city-roads within the control of the Municipal Commissioners. It is a matter of experience that the first class, or post roads, are invariably kept in better order, and at less expense, by the Government, than they would be, if placed under the management of trustees. The cross roads of a District, on the contrary, are always better managed by local commissioners.

By Section 10 of the Municipal Act, all public highways, in any place to which the Act shall be extended (not being the property of and repaired by and kept under the control of the Government, and not being private property) are vested in the Commissioners; and the Commissioners are further empowered to agree with private individuals to take over other highways—which

shall thenceforth be repaired and kept up out of the Municipal Fund.

We would venture to suggest that the maintenance of the District roads be also vested in the Municipal Commissioners of the Sudder Station, the usual appropriation from the Amalgamated Road Fund being made over to them. The Municipality would thus embrace the function of a Ferry Fund Committee, and share the responsibility of the chairman with regard to these, as well as the city roads. Individual Commissioners should also be encouraged to interest themselves in particular works. This plan of apportioning the common duties among the Commissioners has, we observe, worked well at Lahore, and might, we think, be introduced into other places with equal success.

The conservancy of the town is a subject, which is too often apt to be neglected, though perhaps none is of more vital importance. It is intended that all Commissioners should manifest some interest in the execution of this duty, and for this purpose each Commissioner is invested by the Act with the powers of a magistrate. The Act has defined with great exactness a large number of Municipal offences, with which the Commissioners are empowered to deal; so that, with an active conservancy establishment and the sanction of this law, no town in Bengal should again be disfigured by unsightly nuisances or decimated by epidemic pestilence.

It is further the province of the Municipality, when funds are available for the purpose, to improve and embellish the town. Works of this nature must always depend on the particular characteristics of the place, and it would be useless therefore to specify any which to our mind might appear entitled to precedence. But a good water supply, ornamental gardens, and shady avenues are objects worthy of the attention of all Municipalities.

We propose next to discuss the powers with which Municipalities have been armed by law, in order to achieve such beneficial results. And foremost among these must be placed the power of raising a Municipal Fund.

The funds of Municipalities in this country may accurately be classed as arising from three sources; rents, fines, and taxation. In many instances the revenue of certain lands situated within the limits of the Municipality has been assigned to it by Government at the time of its incorporation, the ground-rents or the sale-proceeds of building sites being devoted to the improvement of the town. It is, in fact, under such circumstances that new stations and towns are created in India.

Witness the Hill stations of Darjeeling, Cherra Poonjee, and Shillong, or, in our immediate vicinity, the rising port of Canning. Without such a guarantee, capitalists would hesitate to expend their money in what would appear an imperfect scheme; without the prospect of good roads, and drainage, few men would come forward to build inaccessible and unhealthy houses.

The second item of income embraces the fines and penalties attaching by law to the commission of certain defined Municipal offences, and which the Commissioners are authorized to impose and levy. The conservancy establishment ought by this means to pay its own expenses, and it can hardly fail to do so, if the provisions of the law are fairly and energetically enforced. Fines are, moreover, an equitable source of revenue, as being a tax which principally falls on those, who by their laches and negligence render necessary a public conservancy.\*

The subject of Municipal taxation demands the fullest enquiry. We hinted in a former paragraph at the advantage to be derived from the application of the system of local taxation to the expenditure on the construction of public works. The public may justly complain, when they see the imperial revenue squandered (for to the public at large, they thus seem to be squandered) on particular localities. They have a right to demand that towns should be improved at their own expense. And the system of local taxation is the fairest, not only as regards the public at large, but in the interests of the cities themselves. As it is unfair that the public should be called on to contribute to general improvements from which they can derive no benefit, so is it scarcely consonant with equitable principles that one locality should be unduly improved at the expense of another. When each place pays for its own improvements, it pays for just as much as it requires and no more; while the taxation is not grudged so long as the proceeds are known to be expended for the benefit of the contributory community. We cannot do better here than quote a passage from Adam Smith on this subject. 'Even those public works

\* Since the above was written a proposal has been made to Government to aid Municipalities from the Amalgamated District Road Fund, by an annual grant equivalent to the amount heretofore expended on Station Roads from that source. In modification of this suggestion, the Lieutenant-Governor has by a late Resolution made over to the Municipal Commissioners the proceeds of such ferries and pounds as may have been, or hereafter may be, established within the limits of their control. The proceeds of the ferries are of course *rents*, and may fairly be devoted to municipal purposes; the *fines* levied at pounds also legitimately belong to the local fund.



‘which are of such a nature, that they cannot afford any revenue for maintaining themselves, but of which the convenience is nearly confined to some particular place or district, are always better maintained by a local or provincial revenue, under the management of a local or provincial administration, than by the general revenue of the State, of which the executive power must always have the management. Were the streets of London to be lighted and paved at the expense of the Treasury, is there any probability that they would be so well lighted and paved as at present, or even at so small an expense? The expense besides, instead of being raised by a local tax upon the inhabitants of each particular street, parish or district in London, would in this case be defrayed out of the general revenue of the State, and would consequently be raised by a tax upon all the inhabitants of the kingdom, of whom the greater part derive no sort of benefit from the lighting and paving of the streets of London.’ The communities of towns more particularly should thus pay for their own convenience. There is comparatively a much greater expenditure incident to towns, from which none but the inhabitants derive the smallest advantage. People congregate in towns for purposes of trade and commerce: they require good roads and streets, perhaps well lighted and watered; they require a body of Police sufficiently large to guarantee the security of life and property, and consequently they must expect to pay for these conveniences. It is scarcely equitable that the Indian revenue should be drawn upon to defray the cost of patrols on the Calcutta Course.

In considering the proper subjects of municipal taxation, it is necessary to premise that a distinction must always be kept up between local and Imperial taxation, and the one should not be allowed to interfere with the other. ‘Surcharges on imperial taxes in the shape of municipal dues ought on no account to be permitted. There will be no limit either to the burdens upon the people or to the dilapidation of the general revenue, if municipalities are allowed to add taxes of their own to the imperial Customs and Excise.’ We quote from the Resolution, and it is a passage which all Municipal Commissioners will do well to bear in mind.

There are four sorts of taxes which have always been considered in India legitimate local taxes. They are (1) house or land assessment, (2) capitation taxes, (3) taxes on carriage and horses, and (4) town duties or octroi.

A rate upon all houses, buildings and lands, according to their annual value, is probably the simplest, fairest, and cheapest

local tax, and is that invariably preferred at home. The lands situated within the municipality will generally, to a great extent at least, be building-sites—a monopoly in land created solely by those very causes, which lead to the necessity for local taxation, and therefore the fittest subject for that taxation. The owner of such lands can well afford to pay a small percentage for the benefits he derives from the improvement and security of the town. Whatever tends to increase the prosperity and population of the town, tends also to enhance the value of ground rents, and the land monopolist may fairly regard his tax as a safe and profitable investment of capital. When the ground is built upon, the owner will naturally endeavour to throw the burden of the tax upon the tenant, by proportionally raising his rent; but, except in very limited societies, this inequality will ultimately adjust itself by a general reduction of rents, and the tax will fall as it ought,—partly on the tenant, but chiefly on the owner of the ground. Even so far as the tax falls on the tenant, it is perhaps the fairest imposition that can be devised. A man's residence is generally in accordance with his position and wealth, and his susceptibility to taxation proportioned to his house rent. If the tax falls heavily on the rich, this is perhaps a fortunate result, at any rate not one to be deprecated. Under Act XX of 1856, (Chowkeydaree Act), the rate was payable by the *occupier* of the house or land; but by the present law the *owner* is responsible for the tax. As we have stated, the tax will ultimately fall in unequal proportion on both, and it matters little by which party it is advanced. If advanced by the owner, he will raise the rent; if by the occupier, he will rent a cheaper house and so diminish the competition for the more expensive. There are advantages however in levying the tax from the owner, the expense and inconvenience of collection being considerably less, inasmuch as the whole street or square may belong to the same person, and the rates may be levied at once. It has been attempted to distinguish the ground-rent from the house-rent, and to levy the rate separately upon each. But such attempts must always fail. The owner will still charge the whole rate in addition to the ground rent, and the tenant will be driven as before to a cheaper class of residence. It is obvious moreover, that where the house rent, as including the ground rent, is taken as the annual value of the property, a further tax on the ground rent itself is simply a double assessment and illegal.

Capitation and license taxes are perhaps the most unequal that can be devised. The former are usually proportioned to

the wealth of the individual, and have therefore all the disadvantages of an income-tax. The latter are supposed to be proportioned to his rank and calling; but the degrees of wealth are frequently unequal in the same degree of rank. Such taxes are moreover arbitrary and uncertain, when applied to the rich; and are taxes on the wages of the poor. The 'assessment according to the circumstances and the property to be protected of the person liable to the same,' legalized by Act XX of 1856, was a capitation-tax regulated according to wealth. It has now been laid upon the shelf in close proximity to the Income-tax, and it is to be hoped they have both been relegated *sine die*. The license tax, levied by the Calcutta Municipality, is a capitation tax regulated according to rank. The population is divided into six classes, according to trades and callings, and the members of the trades and callings of the same class pay the same fixed annual tax. Thus merchants, physicians, and attorneys all pay Rs. 50 per annum. But one merchant may have an income ten times as large as another, and a hundred times as large as that of a young attorney. A broker again under Class III pays only Rs. 25 per annum, but many brokers have twice the income of dentists and architects. The idea of correlative wealth must enter into the principles of taxation; and every system which disregards such idea, is unequal and unjust.

A tax on carriages and horses is a legitimate tax, not only as being a tax on luxuries, but as a means of levying funds for the repair of the wear and tear they occasion to the roads of the municipality. As a tax on luxuries, it has in England been deemed a legitimate *imperial* tax, and as a local tax the only possible objection to it is the smallness of the amount thereby produced. The tax has advantages over tolls taken on the roads, as being cheaper in the collection, and not tending to discourage trade or tax the poor. Carts, as being articles of husbandry, are not fit subjects for a high tax, but a small amount may fairly be taken as compensation for the advantages of good roads and easy communication. We would remark however, that the framers of the Mofussil Act apparently lost sight of the large number of native conveyances drawn by bullocks. There seems no reason why the native zemindar should not pay as much for his two-wheeled 'baili,' as the planter for his buggy.

We have lastly to consider the nature of town-duties or octroi. This method of taxation has been considered in the Resolution under review, and the report which led to the abolition in 1835 of the Town-duties in Bengal as an imperial tax, has been added as an Appendix. The

Resolution itself does not express any strong opinion one way or the other, but it may be presumed from the Report annexed, that Town duties in the opinion of the Government should only be resorted to as a last resource. That Report bears the signature of our late Finance Minister, and when we consider the mad escapade of the export duties, we cannot conceal our astonishment that in the last thirty years, Sir Charles should have forgotten the first principles of political economy, with which he was then apparently well acquainted. No one reading the Report could possibly imagine that the writer, thirty-two years later, would seek to fetter the trade of this country, by the very same means which he then anathematised in the case of towns. Speaking of the octroi, he writes; 'Upon whatever town it may be imposed, it amounts nearly to the same thing as if a sentence of exclusion had been passed upon it from its share in the trade of the country and the manufacture of some of its principal staples. This is an inequality indeed. Trade and manufactures are as much the natural source of the prosperity of towns as agriculture is of the country; and here we have a tax which places a few towns upon which it is imposed under the most serious disadvantage with respect to these branches of industry, compared with the remainder which are left entirely free.' And this is illustrated in another passage by the manufacture of *sugar*, where the staple had to pay a tax on entering the seat of manufacture, and where accordingly 'the improvement of the manufacture cannot be carried beyond the means which the limited consumption of a single town affords. If the undertaker were to attempt to extend his operations by supplying the country in the neighbourhood or the foreign market, he would be immediately undersold by the sugar manufactured outside the town duty Chowkeys.' A little thought would have convinced Sir Charles Trevelyan that the result would be precisely the same, whether the raw material paid a duty on entry or the manufactured article on export from the town. It is a curious fact that this Report would have been re-published in the Financial Department, so very shortly before the publication of the Budget and the imposition of the export duties.

It is necessary to distinguish carefully between town-duties, as such, and transit-duties. The latter are duties paid upon all goods in transit—a mode of taxation known and practised in every State of India as well as many European countries. They were originally established probably for the maintenance of the public communications, and operated as a sort of toll. But they invariably enhanced the price of commodities, interfered with trade, and were finally abandoned with the increase of civilization.

The attempt to induce the Natives states to forego this lucrative source of revenue has lately been one of the most successful points of our foreign policy. Town duties, on the other hand, are intended to be levied upon articles actually consumed in the town, and thus to act as a local customs. We inherited this source of revenue also from the Native Government, which levied the duties under the name of 'choongee.' The collection of the tax was remodelled by Regulation X of 1810, and the duties were made chargeable upon light articles of consumption only, *viz.*, grain, legumens, oil, sugar, ghee, tobacco, betelnut, and turmeric. The duties were entirely abolished as a source of *imperial* revenue by Act XIV of 1836, though it was still thought that they were a legitimate means of *local* taxation. But the evil attending them is just as serious and patent, whether they contribute to the fiscal or Municipal income. Under the best system of collection, they have always interfered, and always will interfere, with the general trade of the country. Municipalities cannot help confounding them with transit-dues, anxious possibly to raise a revenue at the expense of their neighbours. But, however legitimate such a course may be, in the case of countries competing against each other, it is obvious that such a policy strikes at the very principle of all local taxation, which is, that each locality shall be *self-supporting*. The government of a country has the interests of its subjects only at heart, and, in the present state of international commerce, is scarcely justified in considering those of other countries. But towns are only parts of the whole, and where self-government has been conceded, it is no less the duty of government to provide against the contingency of one town seeking to aggrandize itself at the cost of others. 'If,' says the Resolution, 'the duties \* could be confined to things consumed in the town, without interfering with the transit trade, they would be only open to the objection that they fall in undue proportion on the 'poor.' But this again to our mind is a most serious objection, and one not to be dismissed with so casual a notice. Taxes should fall equally on rich and poor in proportion to their means, and if a tax falls proportionally rather heavier on the rich, no one would deem it unreasonable or have just cause of complaint. Possibly the rich ought to pay not only in proportion to their wealth, but should contribute specially towards the establishment of good government and the security of property. But when the poor are taxed beyond all due proportion, surely it is time to reform the system of taxation. If there were no other arguments against the imposition of town-duties, this alone in our opinion is worthy of striking their death-blow.

The most cursory glance at the schedule of taxable articles in any place where *choongee* duties are levied, will convince any one that such duties must fall with undue weight upon the poor. They are usually collected on the commonest necessities of life, the produce of the neighbouring country. A rich family may not consume more ghee or firewood than a poor one, but both are taxed to the same extent. There are other weighty objections to the tax we are now considering, such as the expense of collection and the inconvenience of vexatious search. But we have not space to discuss this branch of our subject further, and can only refer the reader to Sir Charles Trevelyan's original Report.

Of the four descriptions of taxes detailed above, the three first have been legalized in the Calcutta Municipal Act, and two, the first and third, in the Mofussil Act. Town duties, though they existed, in places, under the old law, have not been recognized by the Bengal Council in framing either enactment.

'All monies, rents, and profits received by the Municipal Commissioners of any place, and all fines, fees, and penalties paid or levied under this Act, shall constitute a fund which shall be called the Municipal Fund of such a place, and shall, together with all property of every nature and kind, which may become vested in the said Commissioners, be under their control, and shall be applied by them as Trustees for the purposes of this Act.' It is obviously no more than just, that the Municipality should have the control of funds raised by self-taxation. The account and audit of expenditure will therefore be left to the Commissioners. The Government Treasury will operate simply as a Bank, and the Accountant-General will not be required to trouble himself further as regards the expenditure, than to see that the cheques are properly drawn and receipted. By a late order, the Chairman may, of his own motion, draw sums not exceeding Rs. 300; drafts for larger amounts requiring the countersignature of two other Commissioners. There is apparently no limit however to the number of sums which the Chairman may draw for the same purpose, and in the same day. It would be impossible for Government to fix any limit, and this is a matter, which may properly be left to the Commissioners themselves, to regulate. The only safe method of administering the common fund is naturally, as with Imperial accounts, by a strict system of estimates, and by a thorough searching post-audit. Each item of expenditure should at the commencement of the financial year be estimated and passed in detail; and the Chairman will then be responsible that

the passed estimates are not exceeded. All estimates for roads, buildings, and other public works should be carefully examined by the Executive engineer, (who for this purpose is *ex-officio* a Commissioner), and should not be passed without his approval. It too often happens that when the estimate is passed, however, Commissioners imagine their work to be over and hardly give another thought to the subject. But in very rare instances will the actual cost of any work correspond with the estimate; and unless some further check is imposed, the Clerk or Overseer may be discovered some day in the character of a fraudulent contractor. After execution therefore, each work should be visited and tested, and the accounts carefully examined. The task might be performed by a sub-committee specially appointed for the purpose, and their report, with a 'completion-statement,' should be submitted to the Commissioners. We ourselves indeed are strongly in favour of the efficacy of sub-committees, and in the case of Municipalities, we believe, they have always been found to work well. They relieve the Chairman of a large amount of labour and responsibility, and they give an interest and zest in their work to the non-official Commissioners. While the control of its expenditure is thus left to the corporation itself, the Government reserves to itself the right to be informed of all its financial proceedings, in order to check, if necessary, lavish waste or misappropriation. All civic bodies in England are required to submit annually a balance-sheet for the information of Parliament: and similarly, under Act III of 1834 of the Bengal Council, an annual estimate for the ensuing year, and such statements of income and expenditure as may from time to time be called for, must be submitted to the Local Government. For it behoves the Government to see that the funds raised are devoted to the objects for which only their levy is legal, and it is moreover its duty to provide that one of these objects is not unduly sacrificed to another—that embellishments for instance are not pushed forward to the detriment of more substantial improvement, and regardless of the state of efficiency of the City Police.

We proceed to consider the constitution of Municipal bodies in Bengal.

The election by the burgesses of their representatives is considered in England to be a fundamental condition of the idea of a commonalty. We conceive it to be simply an accident, and not necessary to the success of the system. It is one step further towards that individual liberty which free institutions are sure to engender, but it is not absolutely requisite for the faithful administration of local affairs. The Justices of the Peace watch

the interests of the county at home, and, whatever may be said against their dispensation of justice, no one will deny that the whole country is indebted to them for the zeal and public-spirit they display in carrying out works of local improvement. Yet the Justices are appointed by the Crown, generally on the nomination of the Lord Lieutenant. And similarly, in this country, Municipal Commissioners are appointed by the Government. In some places, it is true, the inhabitants were allowed to elect and nominate their representatives, and it may be thought a retrograde movement in the Act to vest the appointment solely in the Government. But it must be remembered that the principle of election has never yet been embodied in any Indian legislative enactment; and, where it existed, it was simply a provision of the Local Rules, acceded to by Government. The sanction of Government was even then, however, requisite to legalize the proceedings of the electors, and indeed under the present law there is nothing to preclude the election and nomination of representatives, the prerogative of ultimate confirmation being reserved to the Local Government. The day may not be far distant, when the principle of election may be successfully extended to all Municipal Towns throughout India, but at present it will be readily admitted, the country is not ripe for so liberal and important a measure. The natives, with few exceptions, are not as yet sufficiently advanced to appreciate the blessings of independent self-government, and it is quite possible that some might regard the 'how not to do it' as the acmé of perfection in a representative.

The minimum number of Commissioners under the Act is ten, of whom five must assemble to form a quorum. The Commissioner of the Division, the Magistrate of the District, and the Executive Engineer, are *ex-officio* Commissioners for every municipality within their respective jurisdictions—the only qualification required in the rest of the Commissioners being that they reside within the limits of the municipality. The Magistrate of the District is moreover *ex-officio* chairman of the Commissioners, and he therefore, as heretofore, remains responsible to Government for the order and good management of the town as well as the District committed to his charge. By Section 20, he is authorised to exercise all the powers vested by the Act in the Commissioners for the transaction of municipal business—provided that he exercise no power, 'which it is by the Act expressly declared shall be exercised by the Commissioners at a meeting.' Section 21, moreover vests in him, as Chairman, the power of appointing and dismissing the subordinate establishment. Under Act XXVI of 1850,



one of the things to be provided for in the Rules therein prescribed, was 'the appointment and management of all necessary officers and servants of the Commissioners, and the salaries to be allowed to them.' Those Rules had to be sanctioned by the Local Government, before they could be legally acted upon—or in other words the sanction of Government was required for the entertainment of every chaprassy or sweeper, whom the Commissioners might propose to appoint. The absurdity of this arrangement is the more obvious, when we consider the apparently uncontrolled authority which the Municipality possessed in the disbursement of the common fund on other objects. The Establishment will now be regulated by the Commissioners themselves at the time of passing their annual estimates, and the Chairman will be authorised to entertain such subordinate officers and servants only, as may have been provided for in the municipal budget.

It will be seen from the above, that the District Municipal Improvement Act of Bengal has remedied many defects existing in the old law; not merely by empowering the Lieutenant-Governor to introduce its provisions wherever he thinks necessary, regardless of the wishes of the inhabitants, but in providing one uniform and legitimate system of local taxation throughout the Lower Provinces, in defining with precision certain municipal offences and giving Commissioners jurisdiction over them, and in rendering obligatory on every town the maintenance of its own Police. There are other provisions of the Act worthy of notice. Like all aggregate corporations, the municipality is empowered to purchase and hold landed property, and facilities are provided for compelling the sale of land to the Commissioners and for ascertaining the value thereof, as though it were required for Government purposes. Unlike other corporate bodies moreover, the Commissioners may of their own authority alienate lands by sale, whenever such course appears advisable. The personal liabilities of Commissioners and their exemption from liability are also the subject of legislative enactment. No Commissioner will be personally liable for any contract made or expense incurred by the Commissioners, provided that he has not been a party to any misapplication of municipal moneys, or by personal neglect facilitated such misapplication. No Commissioner however can be interested, directly or indirectly, in any contract with the Municipality, under penalty of fine and removal from office, and even though a Commissioner be a shareholder only in a registered or incorporated Company with which a contract is made, he is thereby debarred from acting as a Commissioner in any matter touching that contract.

The legislation on the subject of the mortgage of rates for the construction of permanent works is worthy of notice. By section 16, the Municipality is empowered, with the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor, 'to make, maintain and repair any work of public utility, such as any tunnel, bridge, drainage work, work for the supply of water, or for lighting streets, work for the improvement of a river or harbour, dock, wharf, ghaut, or quay; also all works subsidiary to such works.' And for the purpose of raising funds for the construction or maintenance of such work, the Lieutenant-Governor may authorize the Commissioners to borrow money 'by way of debenture' on the security of their corporate property and taxes, 'at such rate of interest and upon such terms as the said Lieutenant-Governor may approve.' Here would appear to be recognized Sir Charles Trevelyan's plan of meeting the Public Works expenditure by means of a loan. The plan has certainly not found favour either in this country or at home. Brilliant as this idea undoubtedly is, the public are nevertheless not yet satisfied that it is one either of sound finance or of straightforward morality. The arguments urged against this mode of executing Imperial works, may possibly be employed with equal force to dispute the wisdom and honesty of constructing local improvements by the aid of borrowed capital. It is hardly necessary to review the question here. The opponents of the system of Public Works Loans rely chiefly on the injustice done to posterity by saddling it without its consent with the annual payment of a large sum as interest on the capital expended, over and above the expense of repairs. They urge with reason that no human work, however solid, is strictly permanent in its nature, or can defy the ravages of time. And they finally throw out gloomy fore-bodings as to the ultimate bankruptcy of that Exchequer, which has recourse to shifts so hollow and unbusinesslike. The supporters of such loans on the other hand, argue that it is quite as unfair to tax the present generation for the construction of public works from which posterity will derive equal benefit—that the security of such loans has a better guarantee than all the capital sunk in private Railway and other Companies,—and they even at times go to the extent of eulogising the system on the ground that the safety and welfare of the State is proportioned to the number of its public creditors, and the amount they have at stake.

For our own part, we would make a distinction between what are called reproductive and unproductive works. If by way of profits, rents, tolls, or taxes, the work can be made to yield a return sufficient not only to defray the interest accruing on the

original capital, but also to lay by a reserve fund for emergencies and occasional repairs, we can discover no reason, why the State should not borrow such capital as is required without anticipating a future of possible insolvency. But the cost of works from which no return can be expected, should in our opinion be exclusively defrayed by the generation executing them, and any attempt to construct such works by means of a loan at the expense of posterity, we cannot but look upon as impolitic and unjust. The same remarks will apply to Municipalities. We consider that a municipality is perfectly justified in borrowing capital for the construction of a bridge or canal, the tolls of which would afterwards pay the interest of the capital expended and contribute towards a reserve fund. In the same way a town might be lighted or supplied with water, the lighting or water rate being proportioned to meet the annual and contingent expenditure. But, we do not think, that any municipality would be justified in digging tanks or constructing ghats, from which no revenue whatever could be expected, by means of funds raised upon the security of the general rates, or otherwise than by surplus funds actually at its disposal. Like the promoters of any other Company incorporated for a special object, the Commissioners are bound to look to the chance of a dividend from the actual object in view. It is not enough that the security of the loan and the annual payment of interest be guaranteed by the common property, and revenues accruing from other sources. If the special work thus executed fail to yield a return adequate to the expense of its construction, such security is insufficient, and the public is burdened with oppressive taxation. The difference in practice may be easily stated. Supposing the work to be executed out of actual income, if the work be unproductive, all, high and low, rich and poor, will be heavily taxed during its construction; while, if the work be of a remunerative character, this heavy taxation will be succeeded by a still greater reduction to such an extent as the Municipality benefit by the return from the work. On the other hand, were the requisite funds to be advanced on debentures by the richer portion of the community, the rates would have to be permanently increased to defray the interest accruing on the capital thus borrowed, unless indeed the work were of such a nature as to yield an adequate return for its cost.

Lastly the Commissioners are empowered to make bye-laws and to impose small fines as penalties for their infringement. The bye-laws are to provide for the time and mode of collecting the rate and taxes legalized by the Act, to regulate the conduct of the subordinate officers and servants, to make special rules

for the management of all matters connected with conservancy, and for carrying out all the purposes of the Act. The bye-laws when framed are published in three successive issues of the *Gazette*, when if unopposed, they will receive the approval and confirmation of the Lieutenant-Governor, and be equally valid with the provisions of the Act.

Such are the chief features of the Municipal system, which has lately been extended throughout Bengal. Those who will take the trouble to compare the two, will observe that it is modelled on the more elaborate provisions of the Calcutta Municipal Act. The Mofussil Law is however sufficiently explicit for all practical purposes, and wherever introduced, will, we believe, be found to work well. It would be too much to expect that such a law should meet with no opposition; and accordingly we find the local press inserting frequent objections. But the very fact of the variety of these complaints, often indeed their own contradiction, is in itself an argument in favour of the consistency of the Act. If the high rate of assessment forms the subject of a petition from one quarter, the adjoining Municipality will probably urge that their taxes are considerably less than under the old law, and insufficient. If again the system is stigmatized as a 'half measure,' a 'mockery of self-government,' we would simply assert that it is a great step in advance of the previous law. We do not assert that the Act is perfect, either in the general scope or in the terms of its provisions. We have already stated our opinion, that the natives of India are as yet unprepared for a more liberal municipal system, as existing in highly civilized European countries. We look upon the present as a tentative measure, and we feel convinced, that so soon as they have proved themselves worthy to wield a large share of power, that capability will vindicate its own rights. Constitutional principles are ever of slow growth and generally mature in the experience of generations. An exotic may possibly be acclimatised by patient and careful treatment, but if suddenly taken from the tropical warmth of the conservatory, and exposed to the bleak wind or the nipping frost, our labour is spent in vain. In this view do we regard the present Municipal Law, comparing it with what has gone before, as another milestone gained on the road towards constitutional liberty. And regarding it in this light, it would seem to be a wise and useful law. Its provisions are definite, and they are conceived in a liberal spirit. It asserts the prerogative of Government at the same time that it invests the subject with dignity and honour. It is a measure of large and statesmanlike views, and we hail its extension throughout the Lower Provinces of

Bengal, as the introduction of a new phase in the social aspects of the country, and as a valuable means of education for the people in the important lessons of self-government and self-help.

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- ART. III.—1. *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners, appointed to enquire into the Revenues and Management of certain Colleges and Schools, and the studies pursued and instruction given therein. With an Appendix and Evidence. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of Her Majesty. London : 1861.*
2. *An Address from the Bishop of Calcutta to the Clergy and Laity of his Diocese. Simla, 1864.*
  3. *Rules and Regulations of La Martinière, founded in Calcutta, under the will of Major General Claude Martin. Published by order of the Governors. Calcutta, 1847.*
  4. *Annual Report of the La Martinière, Calcutta, for 1864. Calcutta, 1865.*
  5. *Forty-Second Annual Report of the Parental Academic Institution and Doveton College, read at the General Meeting of the Society, held on the 21st March, 1865. With an Appendix. Published by order of the Society. Calcutta, 1865.*
  6. *Report of the Calcutta Free School, for the year 1864. Calcutta, 1865.*
  7. *Second Report of the Calcutta Diocesan Board of Education, 1865.*
  8. *Short Daily Services for the use of Christian Schools in India. Published by the Calcutta Diocesan Board of Education. Calcutta, 1864.*
  9. *Address delivered by the Hon'ble H. S. Maine, L.L.D., Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, to the Senate and Graduates, at a Convocation for conferring Degrees, on Saturday, the 11th of March, 1865. Calcutta, 1865.*

IT has almost become commonplace to dwell on the multitude of difficult questions which the mutiny has left to be solved. Not that the mutiny was the cause of the great changes which have come and are coming over India; at best, it was but the occasion of them. The changes had probably long been inevitable, since they are in accordance with the progress of thought and society in Europe. Indeed some had begun before the mutiny was imagined. But still that great outbreak was the torch which spread the flame over a mass of combustible matter

already prepared for the burning, and therefore the years 1857 and 1858 may be regarded as the turning point or watershed, which divides the India of the past from the India of the present and the future. The transfer of the government to the Crown, the amalgamation of the armies, the opening of the Civil Service, the extraordinary development of internal communication, the encouragement of settlers, the rapid spread of tea-planting, coffee-planting, and many other agricultural and commercial speculations, the reform of the finances, the foundation of the universities, postage stamps, bank notes, sanitary reforms, had their origin some before and some after these two eventful years, but still to future historians, taking a rapid glance over the English rule in India, all will appear concentrated in the middle of the 19th century, all will mark that epoch, in which the mutiny stands out with terrible prominence as the most distinct and appalling feature.

We, then, whose Indian lot is cast after the mutiny, have to deal not with a time when widow-burnings and Jagganath-sacrifices were protected by law, and missionaries driven away to Danish Serampore or heathen Ava; and when officers were allowed eight months to travel from Calcutta to Delhi, and trembling interlopers were furnished grudgingly with passports and permissions to reside, and when the services consisted of a long muster-roll of almost hereditary officials, and newspapers were silenced or left under a censorship, and few Anglo-Indians had any other destiny before them than to hurry off to Bath or Cheltenham as soon as their service was over, with enlarged fortunes and livers; but with the India of telegraphs, and railways, and public opinion, and free-trade, and Bethune Societies, and ceaseless examinations, and indignation meetings, and the universal agitation which excites this bustling age. Doubtless, the change is on the whole for good, but it also brings with it abundant evils and dangers. And the duty of all thoughtful men is to develop the good and mitigate or destroy the evil by those elements of Christian civilization, which, in a day of progress, and competition, and eager search for wealth, are only too liable to be forgotten or despised.

For it is clear that the English residents in India will henceforth form an important element in its population. They may be comparatively few in number, but every unit among them will be multiplied tenfold by the inheritance of Anglo-Saxon energy. The various branches of industry above enumerated must constantly bring in fresh additions to this population from Europe. Every Indian railway is thronged with European officials. Road surveyors, contractors, tradesmen, custom-house

officers, are scattered all over the country. Assam and the slopes of the Himalayas abound with tea-planters, Tirhoot and Lower Bengal with cultivators of indigo. The Indus, the Brahmaputra, the Irawadi, the Ganges still to some extent, and the whole coast from Calcutta to Persia on the one side, and to the Straits on the other, are navigated by steamers under British commanders. We have no statistics of the number of Europeans permanently settled in the country, but it must be considerable. The principal clerks at our seats of government and other chief cities belong to this class; and in the Bengal Presidency there are now no less than seven seats of government, Calcutta, Allahabad, Lahore, Lucknow, Nagpore, Rangoon, and Singapore, to say nothing of other stations of scarcely inferior importance. The trading places on the Burmese and all the coasts, and cities like Agra and Delhi, to which Mr. Maine had been attracted before they were directly subject to British rule, contain many families of mixed race. All these have moral and spiritual, as well as physical wants; they have children whose minds must be cared for as well as their bodies; the same influences which are employed to rescue Europe from the perils of a coarse materialism are also needed here; such a population, if left to grow up and extend itself without any improving and refining influences, will be at once a discredit to the English name, and a hindrance to the Gospel. Coleridge said that the two greatest evidences of the truth of Revelation are Christianity and Christendom, the beauty of scriptural doctrine, and the sight of a Church of living men and women, exhibiting the effects of that doctrine in their lives. But if the professing Church does not exhibit these effects, and is not penetrated by those other ennobling influences which the Gospel has always appropriated and developed, this chief evidence for the truth of our religion is neutralized and destroyed. *If the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted?* Indeed, there is one reason for which this salt of Christianity has a direct connection with our own position in this country, under its altered circumstances. It cannot be denied that when a young and thoughtless or uneducated Englishman is brought into contact with a weak and timid race, especially an Oriental race, he is apt to treat those who cross his will with no little tyranny and injustice. • We do not indeed share the universal distrust of colonists which has been attributed to our countrymen at home; but we must admit that the more helpless of the natives often suffer considerable indignities, not only from Europeans, but still more from those among their own countrymen who are in the employ or



supposed to be under the protection of Europeans. Such evil arising from our national character and our position in India must be aggravated tenfold, if while the European population is annually recruited from the middle classes of English society, these recruits and their descendants are scattered over the country without that direct responsibility to Government which is always present to members of the services, and without any moral and religious restraints on the indulgence of their own inclinations.

It is clear, then, that over and above the highest and distinctly Christian considerations which should rouse us to exertion, there are social and political reasons for which our increasing Anglo-Indian population must not be left uncared for. Vigorous measures must be adopted to supply among them those Christian ordinances and influences which are proved alike by God's promises and long experience to be the only leaven capable of purifying a secular life, and to provide their children with a sound education, that the next generation may be prepared from the first to do their duty manfully and intelligently to their Creator, to one another, and to the country in which their lot is cast. It is not our intention now to enter into the first of these great needs: we shall provide sufficient occupation for ourselves and fatigue for our readers by a discussion of the second.

The subject of education has lately been brought into more than usual prominence both in England and India, not only through the mania for competitive examinations, and the fact, now generally accepted, that these need considerable reform, nor through the countless reports of the Committee of Council at home, and Directors of Public Instruction here, nor even though the ceaseless squabbles about grants-in-aid and payments by results, but chiefly through the interesting and elaborate report of the Public Schools' Commission. These four closely printed folios not only contain a complete history of the nine old public Schools of England, Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby, and Shrewsbury, together with briefer sketches of the briefer annals of their chief modern rivals, Cheltenham, Marlborough, and Wellington College, but they furnish us with a perfect storehouse of theories and principles of education, in the papers and *vivâ voce* answers of the twelve headmasters and principal assistant masters of the schools above enumerated, of the most conspicuous tutors and professors of both universities, including names like Rawlinson, Scott, Riddell, Conington, Price, Mayor, Hammond, Liveing, and Latham, and of men of the first rank in science and literature, such as Gladstone, Whewell, Herschel, Acland, Airy, Faraday, Hooker, Lyell, Max

Müller, and Owen. Its publication, therefore, is not only very important for England, but seasonable also at the present crisis for India; and we gladly take advantage of it to call the attention of our readers to the really great questions connected with the education of Europeans and Eurasians in this country. It is our purpose first to sketch, as briefly as possible, what has been done, and what it is proposed to do, and then, returning to the English Public Schools' Report, to offer a few suggestions as to the kind of education suitable for the class whose interests we are advocating. Our sketch will be designedly imperfect, that it may be restricted within moderate limits. The subject of female education we omit altogether, as deserving a separate article, and likely to be better treated, if the new Commission, lately appointed to report on the smaller Grammar Schools, listen to the request addressed to them by the fair occupants of sundry Belgravian and ecclesiastical mansions, that they will improve the girls as well as the boys, or if the University of Cambridge carries out the project of probing the arithmetic and geography of the softer sex. Neither shall we speak of those noble institutions for soldiers' children which have added a special lustre to the great name of Lawrence, because they stand apart from the other schools, and the need for them has arisen from a peculiar cause. Once more, we shall say nothing of the state of Roman Catholic education in India, because any amalgamation with it or application of it to more general purposes is, as a matter of fact, quite impossible. Our article is written from the point of view of the Church of England, yet not, we trust, so as to exclude or offend other Protestants, or members of Eastern Churches who can speak the English language, as Greeks and Armenians.

Of the schools by which the wisdom and piety of past generations sought to provide some amount of education for the Christian population of this Presidency, when it was comparatively small, we believe that the oldest is the Free School of Calcutta.\* In the year 1729, a date for so modern a country as British India of almost mythical antiquity, the Company's servants and adventurers in Calcutta set on foot a charity school, 'to educate poor European children in the Protestant religion.' They raised among themselves about £2,400, and received from the Court of Directors the somewhat cold encouragement of 'good wishes for their laudable undertaking.' At the same time Mr. Bouchier, the master Attendant, a man of great benevolence, erected a Court House and made it over to Government for judicial proceedings, on condition that the rent, £400 a year, should be paid to the new charitable

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\* See Marshman's *Lives of Carey, Marshman, and Ward*, Vol. i. p. 423.

institution. In 1756, Calcutta was sacked by Surajah Dowlah, and the school was broken up, but in the next year it was restored with part of the money paid by Meer Jaffier, 'in consideration of the losses which the English Company had sustained by the capture and plunder of the town.' Moreover, as the Court House was at the same time enlarged at the expense of the inhabitants, Government agreed to double the rent. A period of neglect and jobbery seems to have succeeded, during which the School, with an income from rent and interest of £1,200 a year, only educated twenty scholars. Plassey had been fought, and the English rule in Bengal secured for thirty years, before this disastrous state of affairs was remedied; but in 1787, through the exertions of Lord Cornwallis, the good intentions of 1729 were at last carried out, and the charity school, under the new name of the Free School, was placed under a somewhat miscellaneous board of Directors and Directresses, consisting of the Governor-General, four ladies resident in Calcutta, the Chaplains, Churchwardens, and sidesmen of St. John's Church, and six other persons, (we presume of the masculine gender) elected by the subscribers. Thus in this primitive school-parliament of Calcutta, the fondest wishes of the new member for Westminster were anticipated, and ladies not only voted for its members but took their seats in the assembly.\* We need not trace the various changes which have since occurred. The successive Bishops of Calcutta, from the foundation of the See in 1813, have all interested themselves in its welfare, and are its *ex-officio* Visitors. In Bishop Turner's time, St. Thomas's Church was built in connection with it, a measure not wholly successful, since the attention of the 'Rector, Secretary, and Chaplain' of the school, who ought to have been the principal teacher, was distracted between his educational duties and the care of his congregation. Under the auspices of the present Bishop this has been remedied: the parochial services, so to call them, have been handed over to a clergyman unconnected with the school, (though the Church is also used as a school-chapel, for special services adapted to a youthful congregation), while the ordinary discipline and most important part of the instruction are placed, as they ought to be, in the hands of the Headmaster. The education given is of a plain practical character, and the boys generally become signallers in the Telegraph department, assistant apothecaries,

\* Since this was written we have found reason to think that the Directresses, or "Honorary Governesses," as they were called, formed a separate council from that of the Governors. If so, we fear that no precedent is furnished for Mr Mill's projects. See Mr. Seton-Karr's selection from *Calcutta Gazettes*. Vol. II. p. 17.

writers in Government offices and mercantile houses, overseers of plantations, or obtain employment on Railways and in printing establishments, printing being an art successfully taught in the School. On 1st January, 1865, the school contained 208 boys and 90 girls, of whom 240 were on the foundation, boarded, educated, and clothed gratuitously. From the rest a trifling payment is exacted, varying according to the circumstances of their parents.

It is obvious that this school, though an institution of the widest importance and most genuine charity, is only adapted to the poorest children; and that a higher education was needed for other classes of Indian residents. The first person who undertook to supply this want was Claude Martin, born at Lyons, in 1735, a Major General in the service of the East India Company, and afterwards of the King of Oudh. To him we owe the two important institutions at Calcutta and Lucknow, each preserving his memory by the name of *La Martinière*, and by the adoption of his suggestive motto, *Labore et Constantiâ*. For the establishment of his Calcutta school, he left 350,000 sicca rupees, for that at Lucknow his grotesque villa of Constantia, in the vaults of which he was buried, and also a sum of money now producing about Rs. 4,500 a month. He also founded a third school in his native city of Lyons, of which we need say nothing. Both his Indian institutions are flourishing, and many of our Calcutta readers are familiar with the annual ceremonies of September 13, when according to the wonderful English of his will, 'premium of a few rupees or other thing and a medal [are to] be given to the most deserving virtuous boy or girl or both to such that have come out of the School, or that are still in it, and this to be done on the same day in the month I died. That day those that are to be married are to have a sermon preached at the Church to the boys and girls of the school, afterwards a public dinner for the whole, and a toast to be drink'd in memory of the founder.\* This singular ritual, (except the general marriage ceremony, which would seem to be scarcely practicable) is still, and we hope long will be literally observed, down to the very word 'foundator,' which we heard Lord Canning pronounce with dignified emphasis in 1859. For it is, we suppose, the only quaint custom, existing in any Indian School, like the pancake-tossing at Westminster on Shrove Tuesday, the *dulce domum* of Winchester before the holidays, and the other thousand and one oddities which distinguish the ancient seats

\* Article xxiv of General Martin's will, quoted in the *Rules and Regulations of La Martinière*, p. 7. We retain the punctuation as well as the language of the original.

of English education. The actual 'day in the month I died' turned out to be September 13th 1800, but the delay in carrying out the testator's intentions was, even for India, almost incredible. Though he modestly declares in his will, that he is 'in hope Government or the Supreme Court will devise the best Institution for the public good, as I am little able to make any arrangement,' yet, not till 1832 did the 'decretal order' founding the school issue from the tardy judicature. By this it was entrusted to a body of Governors, consisting of the Governor-General, the Bishop of Calcutta, the Judges of the Supreme Court, (since, limited to the Chief Justice, in consequence of the institution of the High Court,) the Members of Council, the Advocate-General, and four acting Governors, nominated annually by the *ex-officio* Governors. To these has since been added the Chairman of the Justices of the Peace for the City of Calcutta. Practically the four acting Governors and one *ex-officio* Governor form the managing Committee of the School. The organization of the Lucknow Martinière is less elaborate; the sole trustee of the property is the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department for the time being, and the School is managed by a small local Committee. The two institutions also differ in the fact that the Calcutta Martinière has a school for girls, for which that at Lucknow substitutes a small native department, an arrangement which might now, we think, be advantageously altered, since native education in the city of Lucknow is provided for by the Canning College and Church Missionary School. The studies of the two institutions are much the same; Latin as far as Virgil and Horace, and Mathematics up to Trigonometry, with the usual accessories of Scripture, History, and Geography, form the staple of both systems. Neither school seems to attempt Greek, but Urdu is taught at Lucknow, and Bengali at Calcutta. Moreover the Calcutta school educates 201 boys and 121 girls, (141 being on the foundation); while that at Lucknow has 202 boys, of whom seventy-six are foundationers. This is exclusive of the native department.

But though Claude Martin's beneficence dates from 1800, yet two other schools for Europeans had arisen in Calcutta before his intentions could be carried out. On 1st March, 1823, a number of 'parents, guardians, and friends of education' assembled at the house of Mr. J. W. Rickett, in South Colingah Street, Calcutta, and agreed to establish a 'Parental Academic Institution,' for 'Christians of every denomination without distinction of country or sex,' though it seems that in practice Roman Catholics are almost excluded, having generally no wish

to enter any Protestant Seminary. This School was conducted with varying success, and often under great pecuniary difficulties, till another General Martin arose in the person of 'John Doveton, late a Captain in the Nizam's service of Hyderabad,' a Baptist, we believe, in his religious creed, who by his will, dated March 13th 1844, divided his fortune between the cities of Calcutta and Madras for educational purposes, leaving the Calcutta moiety to the Parental Academy, and directing the foundation of a similar School at Madras. The share of Calcutta amounted to a little more than Rs. 230 000. Since the school received this munificent bequest, its success has been uninterrupted. Many difficulties were removed, and many benefits accrued. Among the latter not the least was the change of name. The affected title 'Parental Academy' was burnt up in the fire from which the phoenix rose into renewed life as the Doveton College. We cannot think with Juliet that there is nothing in a name. Such appellations as 'Parental Academy' and 'Young Ladies' Institution' tend to foster the faults of vanity and puffing. We do not want to train girls to be "young ladies," but useful Christian women, and while it is most important for a master to be parental in his care of his pupils, he need not proclaim this in the name of his school, any more than he should call it the 'Virtuous Academy' or 'Pious Academy,' however much he may try to foster piety and virtue. Nor should we substitute *sesquipedalia verba* like Institution or Academy, for the disyllabic 'College,' and the good old downright 'School.' To the name 'College' however, the Doveton has an undeniable right, for in 1855 a collegiate branch, in connection with the University of Calcutta, was engrafted on the existing school. Under its new constitution it has become the largest school for Christian boys in Calcutta, for the number attending its classes, during 1864, was 380. It educates no girls. Its curriculum is mainly regulated by university requirements, and its success is doubtless due not only to the Doveton legacy, but to the excellent management and teaching of its late and present Principals, Mr. George Smith and Mr. McCrindle. For some years too, it was aided by the wisdom and earnestness of Dr. Duff, who held the office of Patron, to which under the more appropriate title of *Visitor*, the Committee have now elected the Bishop of Calcutta.

The other institution, established between General Martin's death and the foundation of the Martinière, exemplifies the transmigration, not of souls, but of schools, for it is now struggling into its third stage of existence as St. Paul's School, Darjeeling. In 1830, Archdeacon Corrie, afterwards Bishop of

Madras, set up by general subscription the 'Calcutta High School' for a class of boys above those educated at the Free School. The boarding establishment was placed, oddly enough, under a clerk in the treasury and his wife, while the education was entrusted to Mr. James Graves, an excellent man, who was afterwards ordained in his old age, and died recently at Chinsurah, where he was a Professor in the Government College and Minister of the English Church. This strange separation of the institution into two parts seems to have been one cause of its want of complete success. In 1846 it was broken up, and its fragments removed into Chowringhee and christened St. Paul's School, so as to bring it into connection with the new Cathedral then just completed.\* For a long time it was very flourishing in its new position, under some excellent Masters, among whom was Mr. Slater, now happily restored to the Diocese as Headmaster of the Bishop's School at Simla. But its unendowed simplicity could not stand against the wealth which furnished so many advantages and appliances to the Doveton and the Martinière; and, in fact, Calcutta does not require three schools for exactly the same class of boys. So it was recently determined to establish, in connection with St. James's Church, a new institution of a humbler kind called the Calcutta Boys' School, for the children of parents with incomes not exceeding Rs. 200 a month, and to remove St. Paul's to Darjeeling, as a link in the new chain of public schools to be founded in the Himalayas. A beautiful property has been bought for this purpose, new buildings are in progress, and meantime the school carried on in two small bungalows belonging to the estate, is forced, for lack of room, to confine itself to thirty-one boarders and a few day boys. But we fear that, however well placed and ably conducted, the school will never be completely successful, till a railway is completed to the foot of the Darjeeling hills. The Calcutta Boys' School, opened a year ago, has already seventy-nine scholars, of whom ten are foundationers, receiving their education for the very moderate sum of four annas a month.

Such an apparatus of schools would by this time have been wholly insufficient for the wants of the Christian residents

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\* There is a slight inaccuracy in the Bishop's 'Address to the Clergy and Laity of his Diocese' on the subject of this school. He says that it was founded 'chiefly through the munificence of Bishop Wilson.' This is not quite correct: Bishop Wilson had nothing to do with its foundation, but he afterwards presented it with Rs. 10,000, to enable a certain number of boys nominated by himself and his successors, to be always educated in it on reduced terms.

in this vast Presidency, even had they been dispersed over the country; much more is its imperfection manifest, when they are almost wholly concentrated in Calcutta. We do not indeed echo the extravagant utterances of the *Times*, the *Saturday Review*, and the *Competition-Wallah*, about the climate of this much abused city, though we cannot think it uniformly a pleasant or healthy one, and in any case the damp heat of Lower Bengal can hardly be favourable to the physical development of an English or semi-English boy. Yet the thought of education in the Hills seems to have struck no one till about the year 1835, when a private school was opened at Mussoorie by Mr. Mackinnon. From this arose the well-known and deservedly popular school of the Rev. R. N. Maddock, who now, after sixteen years of labour, desires to resign his onerous duties, and to see his school purchased by the public, as a permanent Institution of the Diocese. There is an interesting circumstance connected with its early history, which is worth recording. In 1849, Mr. Maddock's brother, then Chaplain of Mussoorie, was desirous to keep a few boys together, as a nucleus for the school which was to succeed Mr. Mackinnon's. It happened that the lamented William Arnold, then an officer in the Bengal army, afterwards Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab, was at Mussoorie on leave, and finding that these boys wanted instruction, gave up some hours of his time every day to teach them, besides taking a general interest in them, and making them the companions of his mountain rambles. We have heard that he was much abused for this by his brother officers, as a 'pedagogue' who forgot the dignity of the service, but perhaps they view matters now in a truer light; and, certainly among the many recollections of his short and unquiet life, this sign that he inherited the warm and tender interest in the young, the poor, and the neglected, which was the most marked trait in his illustrious father's character, is not the least acceptable to his friends. Mr. Maddock's school soon rose to eminence, 'owing to the extraordinary diligence and self forgetting zeal with which he devoted himself to its superintendence,'\* and the average number of its scholars has been about 100, generally of a somewhat richer class than those who attend the schools above enumerated, as the fees required to cover the expense of a purely private education were necessarily higher.

Mr. Maddock's success, however, suggested to others that the great benefit of education in the Hills might be extended to a

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\* Bishop of Calcutta's Address of 1864, p. 5.



poorer class of children by the foundation and endowment of public schools. Just before the mutiny some of the Chaplains, one of whom, Mr. Jennings of Delhi, was among its earliest and most deservedly regretted victims, were planning such a scheme, but of course it was swept away by that mighty hurricane. For a time a 'proprietary school' was thought of, but happily the knowledge of the quarrels and distracted government for which many schools of that kind in England have been conspicuous, served as a warning against their introduction into India. The Chaplains who had co-operated with Mr. Jennings wrote on the subject to the present Bishop of Calcutta, then in England awaiting his consecration, and as soon as he arrived in India and was settled in his Diocese, he gave it his best attention. Ever since, at short intervals, he has brought forward schemes for the establishment of schools both in the hills and plains. The successive steps have been as follows. In 1859, on the day of thanksgiving for the restoration of peace to India, a general collection for founding a 'Memorial School' was made in all the Churches of the Diocese, the congregation who were then assembled at the Cathedral contributing upwards of 15,000 Rupees, after a sermon from the Bishop on '*Overcome evil with good*,' which has been adopted as the motto of the school at Simla, established as the result of that collection. On October 29, 1860, Lord Canning wrote a minute, the charter of Anglo-Indian education, founded on a paper submitted to him by the Bishop, and promised that all sums privately contributed for the purpose should be doubled by the State. In March 1863 the Memorial School was opened in three bungalows at Jutog near Simla, under the name (conferred on it by the public) of 'Bishop's School,' and under the able management of Mr. Slater has become so popular, that not only are its present bungalows quite full, to the extent of seventy-two boys, but all vacancies are promised till the end of 1867. We hope, however, that the difficulty of gaining admission to it will be removed by its speedy migration to new and appropriate buildings in Simla itself. On June 26th, of the same year, the Diocesan Board of Education met for the first time in the Bishop's Library at Calcutta; and it has already materially aided in founding schools at Allahabad, Lahore, Rangoon, Moulmein, and Howrah, besides the Calcutta Boys' School, already noticed, and one for girls established at Mussoorie through the exertions of Archdeacon Pratt. The income of the Board for 1864, independent of the interest of an endowment fund of Rs. 20,000, was Rs. 19,370, and we are quite sure that twice this sum might be usefully spent by it every year. Finally, to bring down the story to the present

time, the Bishop has lately issued a new address to the Clergy and Laity of his Diocese, proposing that by vigorous efforts during the next three years, Mr. Maddock's school at Mussoorie should be purchased as a public Institution, and endowments provided for Bishop's School, Simla, and St. Paul's, Darjeeling. The scheme is a large one, but surely the wealth and liberality of the English who are interested in India, doubled as their offerings will be by the State, are sufficient to carry it out.

A few words may here be interposed on an important subject. As these schools are designed exclusively for Christians, they are of course distinctly Christian, and one reason why they should be founded by private efforts aided from the public revenue, rather than directly by Government, is that there may be no interference with their religious character. The Doveton College is chiefly influenced by the Free Kirk of Scotland, but since the Bishop of Calcutta was elected Visitor, he has, with the full consent of the Committee and the Principal, appointed a Chaplain to give religious instruction to members of the Church of England, and to prepare them for confirmation. The Calcutta Martinière is practically in the hands of the established Churches of England and Scotland. Originally it was intended to be more comprehensive, and one of the most singular episodes in its history is the union of Bishop Wilson, Dr. St. Leger (Vicar Apostolic of Bengal), and Dr. Charles, (the senior Presbyterian Chaplain), to draw up a Catechism and Liturgy for the use of all Christians there educated. Though the scheme was a failure, yet the documents agreed upon reflect the highest honour both on the faith and charity of their framers\*, and are at once so comprehensive, and yet so sound in doctrine, that in spite of the encyclical of Pius IX, and the fulminations of Moderator Begg, their perusal may furnish a ground of hope for the future union of Christendom, not in a latitudinarian omnium-gatherum, but in an orthodox communion founded on the maxim *in necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas*. However, such an attempt at union was then, and still would be, premature: the Pope recalled Dr. St Leger from his Vicariate for agreeing to it, the Roman Catholic boys in the Martinière are now exceedingly few, and the end has been that while all the scholars are united for scriptural teaching, those of the English and Scotch Churches are assembled separately for instruction in their respective Catechisms. In the Lucknow Martinière, Bible lessons are given,

\* They will be found in the *Rules and Regulations of La Martinière*

but 'points of controversy are avoided.'\* The other schools above enumerated are all in direct connection with the Church of England, having been founded by the activity of its members. But we believe that in all the 16th Rule of the Diocesan Board is adopted, enacting that 'there shall be daily prayers and scriptural instruction, which all the scholars shall attend, and regular instruction shall also be given in the Catechism and Prayer-book, but any child shall be excused from learning the distinctive formularies of the Church of England, on a written application from his parents or guardians.' Now this is very like the 'Conscience Clause' of that much abused body, the Committee of the Privy Council, which has been the subject of such fierce discussions at home. The arguments however, which its opponents urge against it in England, do not apply to India. Doubtless in an ideal state of the Christian Church, we should have no need of conscience clauses, because we should have no sects. But taking things as they are, we hold the principle to be the best solution of the difficulties which follow from our 'unhappy divisions,' as recognizing the undeniable fact of their existence, while it vindicates the common Christianity which, as we trust, underlies them. We would put no check on the master's freedom of utterance, or require him in his ordinary lessons to fritter away definite religious teaching into vague generalities, to which no man of earnest convictions would submit; we only wish him to abstain from imparting Christian truth in all cases through the medium of formularies which, however excellent, are inapplicable to the children of some denominations. The Dissenters obtain from this principle a recognition of the rights of conscience, and also (to quote the words of Archdeacon Sandford) 'of their responsibility as Christian parents, and their claim to the obedience of their sons and daughters.'\* To the Church of England it secures the undisturbed training of its own children, and almost the entire training of other Christian children also, who, being thus brought into contact with its members, and learning to appreciate its system, will be freed from the prejudices and misconceptions which alienate many good Christians from it, and will be inclined in after years to regard with friendly and grateful feelings a Church from which they have derived the inestimable benefits of early kindness, and instruction, and training in all that is good.

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\* Prospectus of the Lucknow Martiniers.

† Speech in the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, May 23, 1865.

But it is time to turn to the more difficult part of our subject, the use which should be made of these schools, actual or potential, and the character to be given to the education of Anglo-Indians. And here we put one further limit on our article: we shall treat mainly of the instruction to be imparted in schools like the Doveton, or the new Hill schools, rather than in those intended for a poorer class of boys, like the Free School. For this latter class of schools a very sensible scheme of studies will be found in the second Report of the Diocesan Board,\* which, though drawn up expressly for the High School at Allahabad, is applicable to all similar institutions. Now it seems something of a platitude to say that the education given to Anglo-Indian boys of the middle class must be practical, so as to fit them for the occupations which are most likely to be open to them in this country. But on the other hand, in these days of Civil Service Institutes, and other odious abodes of cram, it is anything but a platitude to remind teachers that they have higher objects before them than to gain for their scholars good places at Roorkee, or to pass them through the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University, and to turn out a long list of Deputy Collectors, Executive Engineers, or even covenanted Civilians. Their aim must be to send forth intelligent, cultivated, and religious men, or, in the words of one of the publications which stand at the head of this article, "to make them, according to Bishop Ken's suggestive phrase, 'profitable members of the Church and Commonwealth,' faithful Christians and useful citizens, fitted to bear their part manfully in the work of this life, and looking forward, with earnest and well-grounded hope, to the life which is to come."† Nor is it consistent with the dignity of public institutions, such as our Indian schools are meant to be, to deviate from a course deliberately chosen, in order to fit their scholars for various local examinations, devised with an exclusive view to some particular object. Besides, after all, the man who has received the best general training is sure to be the most useful in the long run, a truth at last beginning to be recognised by those who control the Civil Service Examination in England, and likely, we trust to suggest salutary alterations in that incentive to the temporary acquisition of ill-digested learning.‡ We hope that the public trainers of boys in India will never (to use the words of a Headmaster

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\* p. 5.

† Bishop of Calcutta's Address, 1864, p. 6.

‡ While these sheets are going through the press, we are happy to see that essential improvements have been made in the scheme of Examinations for the Indian Civil Service.

quoted in Parliament) permit their pupils to 'give up all idea of education in a good sense, and try for two or three years to cram as large a field of subjects as possible,' nor condescend to any system in which 'high marks may be got by candidates, who have never read any history except a half-crown abridgment.\*' They must have too much self-respect, and too strong a sense of duty, to teach in this way. At the same time a mere abstract scheme of education, devised without reference to the circumstances of the persons educated, is an absurdity, and therefore in what we are going to say, we shall not forget that the scene is India, the actors the middle class of its European and Eurasian inhabitants, and the probable finale of the drama, a clerkship, an Assistant Commissionership, or admission to the Roorkee College.

We do not wish to waste time by proving the truth, now generally admitted, that the foundations of any sound education must be language and mathematics, and that the former study should be chiefly carried on by the instrumentality of a dead language, 'handed down to us from the period of its highest perfection, comparatively untouched by the inevitable process of degeneration and decay.†' We would only remark that in Anglo-Indian schools a greater comparative weight must be assigned to mathematics, than the Commissioners would give to that study in the public schools of England. Some reasons for which they retain the predominance of classics do not apply to India. The Greek and Latin languages do not here possess that 'recognized and traditional importance and long possession,' which, as they justly observe, are 'advantages so great, that they would hesitate to advise the dethronement of the study, even if they were prepared to recommend a successor.' The boys who attend even the highest of our schools have not the same expectations and opportunities as the students in those great institutions which come under the survey of the Commissioners. There are, alas! no Oxford and Cambridge in India to be homes of classical learning. Here too a boy's attention must be directed to other languages, which could not be pursued with sufficient vigour if Greek and Latin were enthroned in that pre-eminent position, which they occupy at home. We agree indeed with

\* See the speech of Mr. A. Mills, in the House of Commons, May 16, 1865.

† Report of the Public School Commission, p. 28. Henceforth we shall refer to these four volumes as *Report*, *Appendix*, *Evidence*, *Part 1*, and *Evidence Part 2*.

Mr. Gladstone\* that, as our modern European civilization is the compound of two great factors, the Christian religion for the spirit of man, and the Greek, and in a secondary degree the Roman, discipline, for his mind and intellect, we have a right to say that the materials of what we call classical training were advisedly and providentially prepared, in order that it might become the complement of Christianity in its application to the culture of the human being, as a being formed both for this world and for the world to come. We agree too with other statements pointing in the same direction, which we shall cite presently. At the same time Mr. Gladstone himself fully admits that the 'necessities of specific training must more or less limit general culture,' and that the principles just stated only apply in full, to 'that small proportion of the youth of any country who are to become, in the fullest sense, 'educated men.' We may compare with this the opinion of Sir William Hamilton, that 'whilst the study of ancient literature, if properly directed, is absolutely the best means towards a harmonious development of the faculties, the one end of all liberal education, yet this means is not always relatively the best, when circumstances do not allow of its full and adequate application.'† And thus, we are prepared to admit Mathematics to a large share in the 'development of the faculties' of our Indian boys, not only from the intrinsic value of the study, but because it has a direct bearing on the duties to which they will probably be called. It is not, however, desirable that the mass of them should be carried very far in this pursuit. Mr. Maine, in the remarkable address which he delivered as Vicechancellor of the Calcutta University, at its Convocation, in 1865, said very truly, that 'except for the mighty aid they lend to physical science, and except for their value in training the faculty of attention, exercises in pure Mathematics are as profitless as writing Latin or Sanskrit verses, and without the same beneficial effects on the taste.'‡ No doubt means should be taken to encourage any boy, who shows a decided talent either for pure mathematics or their applications, to make as much progress in the study as is consistent with other claims on his time and attention, and we must never forget that Mr. Woodrow, when Principal of the Calcutta Martinière, had the honour of providing Cambridge with a second Wrangler, and his old College of Caius with a Fellow and Tutor. But as to the degree in which Mathematics should enter as an element into the *necessary* curriculum of our

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\* Appendix, p. 42.

† *Discussions on Philosophy*, p. 329, (quoted in the Report.)

‡ Vice-chancellor's Address, p. 11.

Schools, two important papers were furnished to the Commissioners. The first, by Dr. Whewell, chiefly consists of extracts from his work, *On a liberal Education*, with which we have long been familiar, and the other is by Sir John Herschel. We can hardly desire two better guides in determining the question. Dr. Whewell tells us that a thorough practical familiarity with arithmetic is essential, for not only is this a good discipline of attention, clearness of head, and ingenuity, but unless it is learnt at school, it is never learnt at all. Next to arithmetic, the study most rigidly insisted on should be Geometry, to the extent of six books of Euclid. When these two foundations are securely laid, a superstructure should be raised upon them, consisting of Algebra, and Plane and Spherical Trigonometry. Sir John Herschel would go farther than this, and include Statics and Dynamics in the list of necessary studies, but considering the practical wants of India, we prefer Dr. Whewell's recommendation of 'Mensuration, that is, practical as distinguished from speculative Geometry, and the use of Logarithms as an art of great value in abridging arithmetical operations.' Mensuration will include actual surveying, carried on amidst the fresh breezes of the Himalayas, or the cool morning air of the plains.

Though we have been led to discuss in the first place the mathematical part of Anglo-Indian education, we do not wish that more time should be given to it than to literary culture. Mathematics, besides their practical utility, are an admirable discipline for precision of thought, as furnishing a perfect example of strict logic. But they have little effect in refining or humanizing the student. On the value of literature, in this respect, Dr. Temple's evidence before the Commission is so admirable, that we heartily wish that we had time and space to transcribe it all, or at least that it could be extracted from its blue-book prison, and circulated through the length and breadth of India, as an antidote to the utilitarian tendencies of English Colonists. A few sentences must be quoted:—

'That study,' he says, 'is the chief instrument of education, which makes a man in the fullest sense a Christian gentleman.' Taking this word in its highest and best meaning, it certainly represents the aim of the highest education ..... and so far as the study selected can influence the result (and it would be absurd to deny that its influence must be great), that study will do most, which most familiarizes a boy's mind with noble thoughts, with beautiful images, with the deeds and the words which great men have done and said, and all others have admired and loved.\*

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\* Appendix, p. 312.

And when afterwards Mr. Hulford Vaughan express his doubts whether physical science does not produce a higher degree of awe and admiration towards the Creator, and therefore of worship,\* than literary studies, Dr. Temple replied :—

‘The study of literature appears to me to cover almost all that physical science could cover, and very much more besides. There is hardly anything you will find in physical science, which you will not find in different departments of literature. There is no sense of awe, or love of beauty, which you will not find more powerfully brought out from the study of poetry, than from the study of any science, because in the study of physical science there is always the drawback that in order to indulge in those emotions, which the science is certainly able to excite, you are obliged for the time to quit the science, and give yourself up to something with which the science has nothing to do. It is not the science which, as a general rule, cultivates the love of order and beauty, so much as the objects to which that science is applied.†’

Once more, on the use of classical as distinguished from modern literature, the following remarks of Mr. J. S. Mill deserve attention :—

‘The classic life contains precisely the true corrective for the chief defects of modern life. The classic writers exhibit precisely that order of virtues in which we are apt to be deficient. They altogether show human nature on a grander scale, with less benevolence, but more patriotism, less sentiment, but more self control ; if a lower average of virtue, more striking individual examples of it ; fewer small goodnesses, but more greatness and appreciation of greatness ; more which tends to exalt the imagination, and inspire high conceptions of the capabilities of human nature. *If, as every one admits, the want of affinity of these studies to the modern mind is gradually lowering them in public estimation, this is but a confirmation of the need of them, and renders it more incumbent on those who have the power, to do their utmost to aid in preventing their decline.*’ †

These testimonies are the more valuable, because Dr. Temple's Oxford distinctions were as great in science as in literature, and Mr. Mill's name is identified in some minds with pure utilitarianism. If to these we add the earnest wish of Goethe, that ‘the study of Greek and Roman literature may always

\* Evidence part 2, p. 271.

† Quoted by Dr. Temple, Appendix, p. 312.



remain the basis of our higher education,\* remembering at the same time 'the large range of his literary knowledge, and his ardent attachment to science,' we shall have cited some of the most important evidence which the Commissioners have collected, as to the value of an acquaintance with the learning and history of antiquity; and we cannot too often insist upon the fact, that such arguments apply with especial force to that class of society, from which the pupils of our schools will be taken. But many witnesses to the same effect remain behind: the Astronomer Royal, Professor Max Müller, Professor Malden, Dr. Moberly, Professor Pillans, Mr. Austin, even the French and Prussian Ministers of Public Instruction, all testify either by evidence furnished to the Commissioners, or by extracts taken from their works, to the correctness of the conclusion that 'the possession of some knowledge of ancient literature, as daily experience proves, and as those who have it not most readily acknowledge, is very far from being a mere literary advantage.' Still, as we have more than once admitted, many boys need something more than the cultivation of their faculties; the necessities of life require them to be furnished with knowledge which can be immediately applied to the business of life. And if we are to observe the golden rule, *non multa sed multum*, which bids us not to teach many things, but thoroughly what we profess to teach, we can hardly resist the conclusion that one of the classical languages must be omitted in India from our necessary studies. But, when we go on to decide that the one retained must be Latin, we may seem to forget the remark of Mr. Gladstone, with which we have stated our agreement, that the Greeks furnished the primary, the Romans only the secondary, discipline, for the intellect of modern times. We may reply, that a secondary cause is nearer to its effect than the primary; and the fact that European civilization was immediately and not remotely derived from Rome, is a reason, if we must choose between the two languages, for selecting Latin as our educational instrument. No doubt Greek literature, and above all Greek philosophy, is richer, nobler, and more original than Latin. Yet as a language Latin provides in some respects a better mental discipline than Greek. It is at least as capable of adaptation to various subjects, and at the same time it is simpler in its forms, and more exact and uniform in its constructions. Next to Mathematics, there is no better logical exercise

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\* Möge das Studium der griechischen und römischen Literatur immerfort die Basis der höhern Bildung bleiben. Goethe, Vol. 49. (18mo, 1833) p. 123. There is a longer passage to the same effect in p. 111. Report, p. 20.

than the composition of Latin prose. Perhaps Cicero's evidence on this point may be regarded with suspicion. 'Ita sentio, Latinam linguam non modo non inopem, ut vulgo putant, sed locupletiores etiam esse quam Graecam. Quando enim nobis, vel dicam aut oratoribus bonis, aut poetis, postea quidem quam fuit quod imitarentur, ullus orationis vel copiosæ vel elegantis ornatus deficit?' \* Yet this opinion has been approved and amplified by Mr. Merivale, who at least had the power of choosing in which of the two studies he would attain his chief eminence:

'The subjects to which the Latin language was actually applied, within the classical period, are limited in number and character; and accordingly classical authority is wanting for forms and phrases, invented in later times to meet the expansion of the human intellect: but, with due allowance for such necessary modifications, it may be said of Latin, that no vehicle of thought has in fact been more widely or variously employed. Latin has been, and still often is, adopted, as the means of communication on themes of moral and natural science, of philosophy and religion, of mathematics and poetry, of law, history, and oratory. All these subjects and others may still be treated, and still are sometimes treated, in that comprehensive dialect, which was spoken by Cicero and Tacitus, which has never ceased to be read and written for 2,000 years. It combines precision with terseness, strength with grace, expressiveness with fluency, beyond, as I believe, any other language; and it was upon these qualities accordingly that the minds of the Romans were fixed; and to the attainment of these their efforts were directed. They became, almost without exception, as far as their remains allow us to judge, the most accurate speakers and writers in the world. No ingenuity can reduce to the logic of syntax all the eccentricities of Aeschylus and Thucydides among the Greeks, while of the best of our own classics there are few perhaps that do not abound in grammatical solecisms. But the closest criticism can hardly detect a flaw in the idioms of Cicero or Livy, Virgil or Horace, and the most careless of the Latin poets can rarely be convicted of an error in construction.'†

We could hardly have a more powerful defence of Latin, or a stronger array of reasons for making it a chief instrument of our education. When in addition to this we remember that it has furnished a large proportion of words to the English language, that some of our greatest writers cannot be fully

\* Cicero *de Finibus*, i. 3.

† Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, Vol. vii. p. 322

appreciated by persons altogether ignorant of it, that the poetry and philosophy of the Romans to a considerable extent, and still more their history and law, furnish a key to the corresponding branches of learning among ourselves, and that from it have directly sprung the languages of France, Italy, and Spain; we cannot refuse to select it, however reluctantly, in preference to Greek, for the study to be placed by the side of mathematics, as the main discipline for training the intellect of Anglo-Indian boys. And as Frederic II. is now held up to our admiration as the greatest of heroes, it may be worth while to repeat one of his sayings: 'Whatever you do, do not let a boy grow up without knowing Latin.' Only we hope that it will be taught well, and that a sound knowledge of it will be imparted by sound scholars from sound books. We regard this point with some anxiety, for the miserably meagre list of Latin school books, appended to the second Report of the Diocesan Board, consists chiefly of such horrors as Anthon's Sallust, the Hamiltonian Cæsar, and the Eton Grammar. For the last, Dr. Kennedy's excellent little work, already used, as we learn from the Public Schools' Report, at Rugby, Shrewsbury, Marlborough, and Wellington College, should be substituted at once. And Anthon's abominations are no better than what English schoolboys call '*cribs*.'

Having thus proposed that our education should be chiefly carried on by Mathematics and Latin, we must next determine what subsidiary studies are necessary to fulfil the practical wants of Anglo-Indian life, and enable our scholars to take their proper place in society as intelligent and educated men. And here we must consider not only the duties to which they will be called, but the tastes, feelings, and principles which we desire to develop in them. The three chief objects to which their affections and sympathies should be directed, besides their own homes, and families, and parents, which we hope that they will love apart from schooltraining, are India, England, and the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. They should be accustomed to love, and care for the country in which they are to live, certainly for the present, and probably always; for the country to which they owe all their advantages, and from which they trace their noblest recollections, and for the faith in which, through God's merciful Providence, happier herein than those around them, they have been baptized. First then they must be instructed in the language and history of India, and in the language and history of England. By the language of India we of course mean Urdu, for though this is a modern, composite, and, so to speak, artificially formed tongue, yet if India has any *lingua franca*, Urdu has the only claim to that title. Though

doubtless there are vast tracts of the country where it is almost unknown, just as there are parts of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland where English is unintelligible, yet there are few districts in which it is not of some use, for we ourselves were once helped by it when in need of information or guidance hard by Cape Comorin. Moreover there is an advantage in the double or rather multiform origin of its dictionary : a student of Urdu learns something of the general appearance of Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit words, nor can it be denied that, in spite of its hybrid character, it has inherited from these languages much beauty and refinement. Professor Max Müller, when examined before the Commission, remarked that simple lessons in comparative philology may be given by bringing a boy's Latin knowledge to bear on his study of French ;\* and the principle should not be lost sight of by a sensible teacher of Urdu, for its Semitic element may be often illustrated by the proper names of the Bible, its Aryan by Latin and English words. Whether in some particular places this language should be superseded by other vernaculars, in Bengal proper by Bengali, in parts of the Central Provinces by Marathi, in Burmah by Burmese, in the Straits of Malacca by Chinese or Malay, is a question of detail to be decided by the authorities of every individual school. Only whatever vernacular is learnt must be taught grammatically and scientifically, under the frequent supervision of the Headmaster, so that the Munshi or Pandit who is employed in this business, may not degenerate, like the unfortunate gentleman who tries to teach French at Eton, into 'a pleasure which may be dispensed with, a mere *objet de luxe*.'†

The study of English in an English school is beset by peculiar difficulties. The whole subject is too near a boy as it were, it seems too easy, a lesson requires too little preparation, to make it as profitable a discipline as the study of a foreign language. Nor can we help feeling, that it sometimes degenerates into the 'conceit of knowledge without the reality,' when we hear of questions, in the Civil Service examination papers, which can be answered by learning a useless muster-roll of names and figures. A positive injury is done to a student, when he is encouraged to prepare for such a task as this : 'Name the authors of the following works, and arrange them in order according to the date of their death : *Religio Medici*, *Utopia*, the *Battle of the Books*, the *Thistle and the Rose*, *Rasselas*, the *Davidis*, the *Essays of Elia*, *Madoc*, *Rejected Addresses*, and the plays of

\* Evidence, Part 2, p. 497.

† Evidence, Part 1, p. 241.

Don Sebastian, Cato, Revenge, the Rehearsal.\* For he who gets full marks for such a question may not have read a single line of the works named, while some never are read except by antiquarians and book-worms. Such study of English is the merest waste of time. Moreover every translation lesson from Latin is in fact a lesson in English, if the master takes due notice of the English words and sentences by which the Latin is rendered, and if, like Dr. Kennedy, † he is 'very fond of dwelling upon English Etymology,' a similar use may be made, to some extent, of the scriptural and historical lessons. If there is a good school library, and the Headmaster encourages his boys to use it, a large amount of English knowledge may be obtained through their private reading. Mr. Coleridge, the most famous of Eton assistants, testifies that in his school days, 'any average boy of ordinary taste, on leaving school, had read much of the English poets, and a great deal of English history, as well as other literature, that the boys used greedily to devour every poem of Scott, Byron, and Southey as fast as they came out, and that there was a perfect rush to get the first copies of the *Corsair*.'‡ Still 'or Indian boys one or two weekly lessons in English are necessary. Something should be done to abolish that most disagreeable twang, which is so frequently contracted and so rarely lost by children in this country. Care should be taken about English composition and orthography; a considerable quantity of the best English poetry should be learnt by heart, not only as a lesson in the language, but as an exercise of the memory, a discipline of the taste, and an opportunity for correcting the pronunciation. The lower classes of a school should be well practised in dictation, and the higher should read some English grammar scientifically written, and some easy book on the origin and philology of the language.

We have already said that the histories of England and India must form part of the course. We are disposed to lay considerable stress on the history of the latter country, from the earliest times to which our imperfect information extends, as well as on its history after the British occupation. Residents in India should be enabled to take an intelligent interest in its great cities and magnificent antiquities, in its Buddhist caves and Hindu temples, in Agra, Delhi, Benares, Juanpore, and Amritsir. They should be saved from the folly of aping the contemptible talk in which some young Englishmen

\* House of Commons Debate, May 15, 1865.

† Evidence, part 2, p. 380.

Evidence, part 1, p. 123

indulge about 'this disgusting country,' from the ridiculous pretence of preferring £100 a year 'at home,' to £1,000 a year here, and from travelling from Dan to Beersheba with the remark that all is barren. They should be taught that India has a great past, and that it is worth a man's best efforts to try, in whatever sphere he is placed, to do something towards giving her a greater future. On the other hand, those who have studied the reigns of Aurungzib and his successors will hardly adopt the opposite creed, prevalent among some of our modern theorists, that we have no business in India, and that the sooner we hand it over to the so-called government of some native prince or princes, the better for the Hindus and for ourselves. To the histories of England and India must clearly be added that of Rome, as the introduction to all modern history, and as a necessary companion to the study of the Latin language. We find it less easy to give a decided opinion as to the history of Greece. If a knowledge of Greek literature is not to be acquired, a great part of the history of the Greek nation loses its chief value. Yet on the other hand, the influence of Greece on modern civilization has been so great, that the education of a young man who enjoys a share in that civilization is scarcely complete without a knowledge of its history. The two periods to be studied are of course that of the Persian wars, when Greece rolled back the advancing torrent of Asiatic despotism, and the conquests of Alexander, when that despotism was itself attacked and overthrown. For while the internal history of the Greeks almost ceases with his subjugation of Asia, it is from this very point that the history of their influence on the world begins, and that we first learn how important a part the little corner of Europe which gave birth to art and science, to politics and philosophy, and helped to nurture the infancy of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, has actually played in human affairs.\* Nor can any one who has seen the Kashmirian temples at Marttund and Aventipura, or the coins, inscribed with Greek and Sanskrit legends, which have been dug up in the Punjab, or some of the sculptures on the topes of Bhilsa, doubt that the influence of this 'little corner' has extended even to India. Thus, without some acquaintance with the great crisis of Alexander's conquests, not only many parts of the annals of Rome, but of modern Europe and India, are obscure, and the historical bearings of the New Testament itself cannot be properly appreciated. But the intervening struggles between the republics, Athens, Sparta,

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\* See Merivale, *Romans under the Empire*, Additional Preface p. xi.

Thebes, Corinth, and the rest, however interesting as part of the picture of national and intellectual life, have little to do with general history, and may well be omitted or rapidly surveyed. If they are read at all, the most interesting and picturesque way in which a knowledge of them can be acquired is through a translation of Plutarch's Lives, which also will help to enliven the dry and wearisome manuals in which the outlines of Roman history are epitomized for school purposes. It has also been justly observed, that 'there is no work perhaps of antiquity that Christian parents can put so securely in the hands of their children as Plutarch; and that the Christian statesman may draw lessons from it in wisdom, and the Christian moralist in virtue.' \* We need only add to our suggestions on the subject of History the obvious remark that no history can be intelligently read without Geography, and that, therefore, in assigning to the former a place in our curriculum, we are in fact also giving one to the latter.

We have reserved for Divinity the last place in our catalogue of necessary studies, partly because it is the one which should diffuse life through all the rest, partly because the mere instruction given in school forms but a small portion, though an essential portion, of a religious education. And here we would above all things entreat our schoolmasters to awaken in their pupils, as they undoubtedly may, an intelligent interest in Holy Scripture. They must, of course, in the first place be taught to receive it as the record of God's Revelation, the unveiling of His providential government, the source of spiritual strength and hope, the conclusive authority in all questions of religious doctrine and moral duty. But besides this, they should gradually be led to see that the series of books which compose the Bible are, from a merely human point of view, of the highest interest, that the physical geography of Palestine is among the most remarkable of all geographies, the history of the Jews among the most varied and exciting of all histories, the lives of Abraham, Jacob, Saul, David, and St. Paul, the most instructive of all biographies, the lyrical outpourings of the Psalms and Isaiah unsurpassed by any similar poetry; while at the same time, as they are thus accustomed to contemplate each sublime thought and stirring incident, they should never be suffered to forget the prevailing presence of Divine inspiration. The Parables of our Lord, the Sermon on the Mount, the most beautiful of the Psalms, the most instructive passages of the Epistles, and other short portions of Scripture, such as are

\* Merivale, Vol vii. p. 457.

chosen for the gospels and epistles in our prayer-book, should be carefully learnt by heart. It is often said, that youth is the proper time for learning languages, but we are also sure that it is the season for acquiring a living interest in the Bible, and to this great object other theological studies, such as are enumerated in the tables of work furnished by the different schools to the Commissioners, Paley's *Evidences*, Butler's *Analogy*, Davison on Prophecy, and the like, may well be postponed, as equally well or better read in after life. The great object is to teach boys to realize the Bible, to believe that it concerns themselves, that it contains the divine interpretation of the world's history, and that we, in this age, are to apply its precepts and examples to the guidance of our lives. Happily, the increasing number of books written in illustration of it, Dr. Smith's *Dictionary*, Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, the works of Trench, Pusey, Alford, and others whose labours are still incomplete, will enable teachers of the present day to make their scriptural lessons at once much livelier and deeper, than was possible for those who could only draw their stores from the scanty granaries of Tomline, or D'Oyly and Mant.

But though the Bible is to be supreme, the religious teaching of a school should not be confined to it. The majority of scholars, those whose parents make no objection, will be obliged to learn, and we trust also (a rarer accomplishment) to understand, the Church Catechism, and at the approach of an episcopal visit, will be prepared for confirmation. The Report on the English schools furnishes strong testimony to the value of this ordinance in Christian education. Mr. Fearon, a young man just elected from Winchester to New College, testifies to the 'great care' taken by Dr. Moberly in the preparation, and to the effect of the two or three private interviews which, over and above the public instruction, he held with each of the candidates. Mr. Lee Warner, an old Rugbeian, tells us that for some weeks before a confirmation, Dr. Temple sees three or four candidates privately every evening, besides giving to all (as we learn elsewhere), weekly lectures in chapel, with doctrinal and practical comments on the Catechism, while at the same time each tutor is doing his best to impress his own pupils with the solemnity of the occasion as a turning point in life. When Dr. Butler of Harrow was asked whether, when he was a pupil of the school over which he now so ably presides, the boys looked on confirmation in a serious light, the reply was, that it is doubtful whether any event in the life of the boys at school interested them so much, and that this was plain even to an ordinary spectator, not only from the behaviour



of the candidates during the confirmation, but from their general demeanour throughout the term in which it was administered. It appears too that at our public schools in England the children of Dissenters have been not unfrequently confirmed by the express desire of their parents.\* But confirmation in our immense Indian dioceses, at least out of the Presidency cities and some other very accessible stations, is a comparatively rare opportunity. The daily prayers and church services, especially where, as at Simla, the governors intend to give the school a chapel of its own, will of course be so used as to lead the boys to a spiritual and practical view of religion, and we trust that sermons will be preached to Indian scholars not unworthy to be ranked with those to which many Englishmen, in looking back upon their boyhood, confess that they owe even their own selves. Even where there is no chapel, if the daily school prayers are conducted with the reverence and heartiness, which we have ourselves admired at Mr. Maddock's, the want of it will be as far as possible supplied. Moreover, it is most desirable that in every school a choir should be formed from the boys, and that to them should be entrusted the musical parts of the service. Few things awaken a greater pleasure and interest in school worship than this, and it is recommended by the Commissioners over and over again. If there is a chapel, these arrangements rest of course entirely with the Headmaster, but no Chaplain can fail to welcome such an addition to the services of his station church, and in any case, the choir will vary the daily morning and evening prayers in school by hymnody and chanting. We are glad to see that this is provided for in the *Short Daily Services for Christian Schools in India*, which the Diocesan Board has lately published. These are a few of the direct means by which, under God's blessing, a Christian education may be given, but the subject is one which cannot be reduced to rule. For the aim of the schoolmaster should be to infuse a religious spirit into the very system of discipline and instruction, in and out of school hours; and the boys should constantly feel present before them in the lives of their teachers, the example and influence of a heartfelt Christianity.

It only remains to state, as an appendix to our scheme of necessary studies, our entire agreement with the recommendation that 'every boy should learn either music or drawing, during a part at least of his stay at school. Positive inaptitude for the education of the ear and voice, or for that of the

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\* *Evidence*, part 1. p. 371. part 2. pp. 158, 290, &c

hand and eye, is rare : and these accomplishments are useful as instruments of training, and valuable possessions in after life.\* With this we complete our enumeration of the subjects, which every boy should be taught, if he stays at school long enough to go through the whole course. Some of our readers will exclaim with indignation, that we have made no mention of physical science, which Mr. Maine has held up to the students of the University as the noblest of all studies ; which the Commissioners, in spite of the evidence furnished by most of the schools, have recommended as a necessary element in their scheme of education ; and which Dr. Temple, although his own opinion went the other way, intends, in deference to their judgement, to make compulsory at Rugby. Indeed Mr. Halford Vaughan seems to think it a panacea even for moral evils, through the information which it imparts as to the effects of vice on the animal frame and intellectual constitution, although in this strange misapprehension of the motives which guide human conduct, he received, we are glad to see, no encouragement from Professor Owen.† We certainly do not undervalue the importance, especially in these days, of this branch of knowledge. It is now brought into connection with the very highest subjects of all, and no clergyman can enter properly into the points of contact between science and scripture, unless he has some acquaintance with both. We fully accept the considerations which induced Dr. Duff and others to introduce it into the Universities of India, where the greater part of the students profess religions resting on views of science demonstrably extravagant. As Mr. Maine most forcibly said, ‘in the fight which the educated Hindu, which the Christian Missionary wages against error, such success as has been gained, such success as will be gained evidently depends upon physical knowledge. Happily for the human race, some fragment of physical speculation has been built into every false system. Here is the weak point. Its inevitable destruction leaves a breach in the whole fabric, and through that breach the armies of truth march in.’‡ Still we are, on the whole convinced that it would be, for the present at least, inexpedient

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\* Report, p. 33.

† Evidence, part 2, p. 393.

‡ Vicechancellor's Address of 1865, p. 12. Is it too much of a digression to remark that, when viewed in contrast with this passage, the practical vote of censure past by the Madras Senate on the Rev. J. Richards, for saying on a similar occasion that caste is an evil, and the Bible the greatest fact in human history, was the very fanaticism of neutrality, if indeed anything so cold-blooded as neutrality can be fanatical?

to make this study compulsory in our Anglo-Indian schools. When Mr. Maine extolled it as the most essential branch of education, he surely confounded the importance of its results with its importance as an instrument. The effect of any particular study as a mental discipline may be slight in comparison with the interest of the knowledge imparted by it. For example, the knowledge derived from theological study is of inestimable value, but a clergyman who has been chiefly trained by means of theology, without a good basis of general education, is apt to be narrow-minded and prejudiced. Even as to the vaunted effects of the physical sciences in 'liberalizing' people's minds, it is notorious that despotic sovereigns, such as the first Napoleon, have almost always encouraged them in preference to the moral sciences, putting down the literary men, and magnifying the mathematicians, chemists, and naturalists. But without wandering into these somewhat far-fetched considerations, we simply cannot find time for enforcing on all the pupils of our schools a systematic study of physical science. We would indeed encourage it as a voluntary subject, and actively develop any real taste for it in individual boys, but being convinced that as an instrument of education it is less important than the studies above enumerated as necessary, we can only reply to the remonstrances of Sir Charles Lyell, *malo cum Platone errare*, and recommend for adoption the compromise proposed by Dr. Whewell. He suggests that at certain intervals lectures on natural science or natural history, illustrated with specimens, drawings, and experiments, should be delivered at a school, so that 'when the naturalist's eye and the naturalist's mind exist in their embryo state in any boy, the development of these peculiar faculties may begin early, and so all the more easily affect the whole life.'\* To these lectures we would add a practice which seems to exist at Rugby, Marlborough, and Wellington College, of giving prizes for the best collections of different classes of natural objects from the neighbouring country. And this is perhaps the one point, in which our Indian schools may hope to surpass their English prototypes. If such collections can excite a love of natural science, when extracted from the mud of Warwickshire, the chalk of Wiltshire, or the sand of Berkshire; what ought they not to effect when they are gathered on the Himalayas? Even the dullest devotee of the Latin Grammar in St. Paul's School, will be stirred to something of enthusiasm for nature by the sight of Kunchinjinga, and by the ferns and orchids of

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\* Whewell, on a liberal education, § 373-4.

Darjeeling. A perfect mania for botany, geology, entomology, and physical geography, ought to be developed among those whose school life is spent there, or at Simla, or at Mussourie.

And this leads us to the last proposal, which we have to make for the intellectual training of Anglo-Indian boys. We read much in the Report about a system existing in the modern public schools of England called *bifurcation*, by which boys at a certain period of their career are allowed to choose between a classical and a professional course. At Rugby too we see a formidable list of 'extras,' to be prepared out of school for the Christmas examination, and at Westminster there is a regular system of private reading for the annual election to the Universities. These precedents point to the completion of our school system in India, by the introduction of certain optional subjects, in which separate instruction should be provided, and from which every boy who has attained a certain stage in the regular course should be required to select one. We would propose not a bifurcation, but on a very small scale a *quadrifurcation* of the school. And the four subjects between which the boys (or their parents) should select are: (i) a higher course of Mathematics; (ii) Physical science; (iii) Greek; and (iv) the elements of Sanskrit. Those who are likely to derive profit from an addition to the mathematical course will be easily detected by the mathematical lessons, and eligible students of physical science will be sifted from the general mass by their attention to the proposed experimental lectures, and by their collecting zeal. It was with reluctance that we excluded Greek from the list of necessary studies, and we should think it a grievous loss and degradation to India, if the knowledge of it were to vanish from the land. Above all, we trust that some of the boys of our schools will be clergymen, and these at least should be able to read the New Testament critically, and to share that higher cultivation which distinguishes so many of their clerical brethren at home. We hope that in many cases a good foundation of Greek laid at school will be completed in an English University, or if that cannot be, at Bishop's College, and afterwards used for the benefit of the Indian Church, either by ministering to European flocks or preaching the Gospel to the heathen. And as to Sanskrit, some acquaintance with it is so important to an intelligent student of modern Indian languages, and even an elementary knowledge is so interesting from its scientific structure and its bearing on comparative philology, that we need say little in defence of the proposal that the means of acquiring this knowledge should be provided. What Latin does for the syntax, Sanskrit does for the accidence of Grammar. Moreover, by learning the Devanagari

alphabet, the Urdu scholar becomes to a great extent master of Hindi. At the same time it would be unreasonable at present to expect the completion of our system by the introduction of these extra studies: boys will come to school grievously ignorant, and to work the necessary course properly, will tax to the utmost the powers of the most vigorous Headmaster. Whether it may be necessary at an early date to add the study of any modern European language to the list of optional studies we cannot say. French and German are no doubt very important in commercial life, but in India Frenchmen and Germans generally speak English. And for training in language and literature we think that Latin, Greek, English, and the Indian languages afford ample provision.

And now let us briefly recapitulate the instruction proposed for the higher class of Anglo-Indian schools. We have suggested as our ultimate object a system of necessary and optional studies, the former to be enforced on every boy in the course of a complete school career, the latter offered according to individual tastes and prospects.

#### *A. Necessary Studies.*

1. Holy Scripture to be taught to all, and the Catechism and Prayer-book to those whose parents make no objection to the study.
2. Mathematics: *i. e.* Arithmetic, Algebra to the end of Quadratics, Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, Mensuration, and Logarithms.
3. Latin, including composition in Latin Prose.
4. English, *i. e.* dictation, grammar, etymology, and poetry by heart.
5. Urdu, or some other vernacular.
6. History of England, India, Rome, and part of the history of Greece.
7. Geography generally, and those parts of it in detail which are necessary for (1) & (6).
8. Music or Drawing.

#### *B. Optional Studies.*

1. Higher Mathematics.
2. One or more of the Physical Sciences, or some branch of Natural History.
3. Greek.
4. The elements of Sanskrit.

We are quite sure that some such course as this must be aimed at, unless we wish the Christian inhabitants of India to be past by the Hindus in the race of life, in the distribution

of Government appointments, and in the influence which they exercise on public affairs. For so much is now done both by the State and by missionary bodies for the higher education of those who are not Christians, that there is a real danger of this result, which, however just and necessary, will be humiliating to our national pride, and disastrous to the country, unless in the schools already founded or to be founded for Anglo-Indian boys, a course of instruction is provided\* intellectually equal to that given in Government Colleges, and morally raised far above it by the inestimable addition of a directly Christian training. And here we would quote, with warm approbation, the just and liberal reply made by Major Fuller, Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab, to those who maintain that it is useless to educate these boys beyond their station in life. 'It is forgotten,' he remarks, 'that their station in this country depends on the education which they receive.'\* On this ground we rejoice to see that even in the Calcutta Free School a class of pupil teachers has been established, who are employed in the forenoon in assisting the masters, but 'are themselves instructed in the afternoon by the Headmaster in the higher branches of learning, to qualify them for the Entrance Examination of the University.'†

We have left ourselves but scanty space to consider other points of interest in connection with our subject, such as the internal discipline of the schools, and the recreations and physical development of the scholars. With regard to the former question, almost everything must depend for a long time on the personal character and influence of the master who is placed at the head of each school. He must supply to a new institution the lack of those traditions through which Eton is almost equally successful whether the head master is a good one or a bad one, and he must, therefore, feel it a duty to be in frequent contact with the boys. Above all things that worst of educational heresies, by which the head of a school is exempted from teaching, and considered merely as a 'general superintendent' must be eschewed like poison. This view has received a kind of formal acceptance and sanction in India, from the practice of calling the person responsible for the general management of a school *Principal* or *Rector*, and the chief teacher under him *Headmaster*. But it is founded on a fatal error. Education is not a mechanical but a dynamical process, not dependent on dry regulations and time tables and inspection, but on moral influence and personal

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\* Report of the Lawrence Military Asylum, 1865, p. 20.

† Report of the Calcutta Free School, for 1864, p. 7.

exertion and the contact of mind with mind. The chief ruler of a school should always be the chief teacher, for when he is instructing his boys, he is learning their characters, and impressing upon them his own. Arnold made Rugby a school from which a new spirit flowed into English education, not by watching the undermasters, and keeping the mere machinery at work, but by preaching in chapel, and teaching the Sixth, and examining the other forms, and so diffusing his own influence and principles among his scholars. We are glad to see that in the Simla and Darjeeling schools, and in the reports of the Diocesan Board, the word *Headmaster* is always applied not to the second, but to the first officer, and we accept this as a pledge that he is really to teach the boys and move among them, instead of sitting aloft in some remote Olympus, adding up accounts, arranging the dietary, receiving reports from subordinates, and drawing up returns for the Director of Public Instruction. We do not mean that the head master should have nothing to do with such details: we trust that under his auspices the acquisition of habits of neatness, order, cleanliness, and punctuality, will be among the chief benefits conferred by every one of these schools: we only mean that among the details with which he personally concerns himself, the largest share of his time and attention should be devoted to teaching.\*

With regard to other questions of discipline, such as the extent to which a part of it may be entrusted to the boys themselves, we think them as yet hardly ripe for solution. Parents in this country would, we suppose, be thrown into convulsions by the bare whisper of fagging; and we strongly feel that there is no greater blunder than to import into a new soil and climate a plant, which has flourished under totally different conditions of growth. We would only express a hope that something may be done, cautiously and tentatively, to invest a few of the elder boys with certain recognized privileges and responsibilities, of course carefully watched and superintended by the Headmaster. For the 'excellent fruits' which the Commissioners attribute to this system in England,

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\* We also observe with consternation, that in the reports of some Anglo-Indian schools, the boys' names are deformed by the odious prefix of *Master*. According to a newspaper account of a recent prize-day at St. Paul's School, Darjeeling, scholarships were adjudged to Master A and Master B. Contrast the manly simplicity with which the crowd of eager aspirants from all the great schools of England are informed by the *Times* of the adjudication of the blue ribbon of Oxford. 'On Thursday last, C. P. Ilbert and T. L. Papillon, from Marlborough College, were elected Scholars of Balliol'.

'a high and sound tone of feeling and opinion, independence and manliness of character, the combination of ample liberty with order and discipline,\* are exactly those which we most desiderate in the class which will furnish pupils to the hill-schools of India.

We pass lightly over the question of games and out-door exercises for an opposite reason. There is, we trust and believe, no doubt that they will be encouraged as they deserve: In England the only question is whether, under the influence of 'muscular Christianity,' they are not rather over-valued: and of this the Commissioners express their apprehension, when they regret that 'cricket has become so elaborate an art as to require professional instructors,' that matches are multiplied till they engross all the interest, and much of the time of the boys, during an important part of the year, that in some cases play is regarded as on the same level with work, and that boys imagine that they can make amends for neglecting duty by the industrious pursuit of pleasure.† But as yet there is no fear of this excess in India. We may leave athletic sports to their full development, not doubting that they will produce here the good effects which are attributed to them at home. We may look to them, not only as the means of developing bodily health and activity, but even valuable social qualities and many virtues, including especially an unselfish spirit, which in a characteristic but very true passage of *Tom Brown's School Days* is said to be fostered by cricket, because every player has to strive not for his own success, but for that of his side. Nor is there any fear that their importance will be overlooked by Indian schoolmasters. Even our native students are invited to become athletes. We have ourselves seen cricket and leaping, carried on in the playground of a training school at Palamcottah, and preparations for both at Bareilly. From the relative position of these two places, we may infer that games are recognized from one end of India to the other, and if such exercise is practicable in the hot plains of Rohilkund and Tinnevely, there is every reason to hope that it will be fanned into almost English vehemence by the life giving breezes of the Himalayas. From athletic games, carried on in such a climate, we surely may almost expect the physical regeneration of the Eurasian race.

It may appear presumptuous to have compared our puny attempts at Christian education in India, with the magnificent institutions which are the pride of England, and quixotic to

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\* Report. p 43.

† Report. p 14.



expect here the same results which are so conspicuous there. We quite admit the portentous disadvantages under which our masters will labour, from the defective training, or often utter want of training, with which their pupils are sent to them, and from the habits, associations, and climate, in which they have been too frequently reared. But let them not despair. Difficulties and drawbacks only make their work the nobler and more directly Christian. As the schools themselves are more and more valued, the preparation for them will be improved. There must have been a time when the great foundations of William of Wykeham and Henry VI. were not much more important than the Bishop's School at Simla, and St. Paul's at Darjeeling. Rugby and Harrow were originally petty grammar schools, founded, the one by a grocer, the other by a yeoman, for the benefit of their respective parishes. We cannot then better close our article, or more persuasively urge our readers to bear their part in making similar small beginnings in India, than by quoting two extracts from the Commissioners' Report, the one on the general effect of public school education in England, the other on the present state of one particular school. If our labours produce, after many years, results approximating, however, remotely, to those which are here described, we shall have abundant reason for thankfulness to God, for whose service these schools are raised, and without whose blessing they will be raised in vain.

Speaking of the English public schools generally, after a fair enumeration of their evils and shortcomings, the Commissioners say:—

‘It is not easy to estimate the degree in which the English people are indebted to these schools for the qualities on which they pique themselves most, for their capacity to govern others and to control themselves, their aptitude for combining freedom with order, their public spirit, their vigour and manliness of character, their strong, but not slavish respect for public opinion, their love of healthy sports and exercise. These schools have been the chief nurseries of our statesmen; in them and in schools modelled after them men of all the various classes that make up English society, destined for every profession and career, have been brought up on a footing of social equality, and have contracted the most enduring friendships, and some of the ruling habits of their lives; and they have had perhaps the largest share in moulding the character of an English gentleman. The system, like other systems, has had its blots and imperfections; there have been times when it was at once too lax and too severe, severe in its punishments, but lax in superintendence and

prevention, but these defects have not seriously marred its wholesome operation; and it appears to have gradually purged itself from them in a remarkable degree. Its growth, no doubt, is largely due to those very elements in our national character, which it has itself contributed to form; but justice bids us add, that it is due likewise to the wise munificence, which founded the institutions under which it has been enabled to take root, and to the good sense, temper, and ability of the men by whom, during successive ages, they have been governed.\*

And of Rugby we read some particulars, which deserve to be quoted, as placing before our Indian schoolmasters the conditions of educational success, and also an ideal, which they should strive to imitate:

‘To a few leading features, not indeed peculiar to this school, but all specially observable here, it will be enough to advert. A Headmaster whose character for ability, zeal, and practical success promises to make him conspicuous on the list of Rugby Headmasters; a staff of assistants who combine with skill, activity, and knowledge, such a lively personal interest in the school, as induces them to make habitual sacrifices for its welfare; a system of mental training by which the minds of boys can be enlarged and invigorated; a traditional spirit among the boys of respect and honour for intellectual work; a system of discipline, which, while maintaining the noble and wholesome tradition of public schools, that the abler and more industrious should command and guide the rest, still holds in reserve a maturer discretion, to moderate excess, guide uncertainty, and also to support the legitimate exercise of power; a system of physical training which, while it distinguishes the strong, strengthens the studious, and spares the weak; a religious cultivation, which although active, is not overstrained, but leaves something for solemn occasions to bring out; such are some of the general conditions, which have presented themselves to our notice, during our investigations. They go far also, we think, to explain that public confidence which the School has for many years possessed, and never, since the days of Arnold, in larger measure than at the present time.†

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\* Report, p. 56.

† Report, p. 298.

ART. IV.—*The Tenure of Land considered as an Economic Question.*

EVER since England became the paramount power in India, historical controversy has been keenly waged on the question who were the owners of the soil. Opinion first settled on the zemindars, and that opinion obtained a legal shape in the permanent settlement of Bengal. Then it veered round in favour of the Cultivators and produced the ryotwary settlements. Village communities next came into favour, and now we seem to be going back to our first thoughts. The Talookdars of Oudh are putting forward claims to be considered as landholders, with more absolute rights than even English landlords possess, and opinion seems inclined to acquiesce in their claims.

We do not mean to enter upon the historical discussion. Were we to do so, we should be disposed to suggest that all the advocates of all the systems were wrong; that each saw one side of the truth, and failed to connect all they saw into a consistent whole. They failed also, because they attempted to apply a nomenclature which was Western and feudal to a set of phenomena, essentially Oriental and opposed to feudality; to define in legal language a state of things in which law was unknown. We are very far from wishing to speak with disrespect of the eminent men—who in turns adopted the various views epitomised above. They could not be expected to be beyond their age; and it is but lately that principles of historical enquiry have been discovered, which are capable of leading to a correct conclusion on the question.

But there is one point in which we are forced to admit that these inquirers were to blame. They should have borne in mind that they were statesmen as well as savans; that the very end and purpose of their inquiries into the past, was to guide the policy of the future; and they ought not to have sought to stereotype the past to the detriment of coming ages. We fear it must be admitted that these considerations did not guide them. Nay, we fear that to this day these considerations have but too feeble an influence. Englishmen in general have what they consider a healthy contempt for doctrinaire politics; and any Statesman who was suspected of a preference for economic principles over 'vested rights' would find it difficult to win the confidence of his countrymen. It is therefore no wonder that English statesmen in India have tended to conform to the

home type, and have been disposed to limit their policy by a strictly historical inquiry into real or supposed rights.

Nevertheless a bigoted adhesion to historical so called rights is often obstructive and mischievous : and economical principles in reality involve a higher and more universal right, by which the historic right ought to be tested. Where there is antagonism between the two, sound policy would bid us follow the economic doctrine, unless there be, on other grounds, insuperable objections to doing so. But it does not follow that there is to be antagonism : and it so happens, that in the special matter of which this paper treats, historical fact, present practice, and economic theory, are absolutely identical on a fundamental principle.

The State is, *de jure* and *de facto*, lord paramount of the soil of India.

Whatever may be said, and on whatever grounds, concerning the nature of the interests of other parties, this much is certain, that the ultimate ownership in the strictest sense of the word resides in the Sovereign for the time being ; and that all other ownership in theory and in practice, is admitted to flow from the ownership of the Sovereign. Every one who holds land is, in fact as well as in name, directly or indirectly, a tenant of the Crown. Assuming then that the Government represents the whole people, this doctrine is equivalent to the most advanced maxim of political economy, which lays down that the land of a community is the property of that community in its collective capacity.

It is when we advance the next step that we find diverging roads. Political economy asked, how is the collective ownership to be exercised to the best advantage ? Historical investigation asks, how it has hitherto been exercised ?—Practical statesmanship demands an answer to both questions : since its ends cannot be subserved but by knowing, what has been, as well as what ought to be.

Economically, the end of a system of land tenure is copious production combined with just distribution of agricultural wealth. Over the conditions of production, legal arrangements can have but little influence : and what influence they can have, is bound up with the conditions of distribution ; since well arranged distribution of wealth is a stimulus to production and the contrary is a hindrance. Accordingly, in considering the economic conditions of a good system of land tenure, we may confine our attention to the arrangements for the distribution of the produce.

It may be said with sufficient accuracy for our purpose, that land is the only natural agent which is subject to monopoly. It is therefore the only natural agent which can be made to pay rent; since rent depends upon monopoly. The ultimate test of proprietary right in land is the receipt of rent: and it will be found, that those persons to whom the law gives the right of enjoying the whole or part of the rent as such, are virtually in the position of owners of the soil.

Now it is possible for the State to keep the monopoly of land wholly in its own hands, taking rent through public officers; or the monopoly may be handed over to a more or less numerous body of landed proprietors. The State may also put a limit on its own demand, and may enforce a limit on the demands of those with whom it shares its monopoly, as against the actual tillers of the soil.

We propose to examine, first, whether it is expedient to enforce a limit to rent, and next, whether it is expedient to assign a share of the rent to a proprietary body, and what are the requisite qualifications of that body?

Permanency of tenure is one of the indispensable requisites of agricultural improvement. And permanency of tenure cannot exist without limitation of the demand of rent. It might be sufficient to say thus much, were it not that the principle, here laid down, is one that does not meet with ready acceptance.

It is indeed admitted that permanency is essential to improvement; but the permanency is generally supposed to be vested in the receiver of rent and not in the tiller of the soil. Now it does not need any elaborate demonstration, that it is the person whose capital is invested in agriculture, in whose favour the permanency of tenure (and consequent limitation of rent) ought to operate. There is nothing connecting the process of rent-receiving with the improvement of the soil. But the actual agriculturalist has the improvement or deterioration of the soil in his power: and his tenure ought to be so arranged that his interest should lie in improving. These principles are admitted when the question is between landlords and capitalist farmers. This class is not expected to undertake improvements without being protected by long leases. But when the question is between landlords and peasant farmers, this admission is not made. Yet it does not seem that the principle involved in the two cases is different. If a class of peasant cultivators is to exist at all, it must enjoy the same privileges as the capitalist cultivators: nay it might be argued that the peasant is entitled to the more enlarged privileges, in that he too is virtually a capitalist, though a small one, and therefore under the greater

difficulty in applying his capital, and needing the firmer security for its return.

But it may be asked, why should the regime of peasant cultivation be maintained at all? Why should not the land be tilled wholly by labourers on daily wages, acting under capitalist farmers? Because, in the first place, it is not proved that the regime of capitalist farmers and daily labourers is decidedly superior to the other: and in the second place, there is no probability that it could be successfully introduced into India. It is not incontestably superior to peasant farming as regards production. It is inferior to peasant farming as regards the status of the day labourer. The peasant farmer of the Continent is materially as well off as his analogue, the English farm labourer: he is better off in all other respects. The employment of day labourers is almost peculiar to England: and it will be found that the more purely agricultural a country is, the more peasant farming prevails in it. The practice of employing day labourers, too, may be said to have grown up in England with the growth of the manufacturing system.

Hence on the whole, we think, it is fair to infer that there is something in the material or social condition of the day labourer which is distasteful to most men, and unsuited to purely agricultural communities.

Moreover, the English farming system is peculiarly unsuited to India, because all the habits and traditions of the people are bound up with the other system: and because there is no class which bears an analogy to that of English farmers.

We are accordingly left to fall back on cultivation by peasant farmers. Are these then to be tenants at will, or are they to have permanency of tenure? We believe that if the conditions of the question were fully examined, every one would pronounce for permanency. From the point of view of the tenant, the advantages of permanency are clear. As a question of bare justice, it should not be forgotten that to turn a peasant farmer into a tenant at will is to attempt to get skilled labour at unskilled wages. The day labourer works under the superintendence of the farmer; he has no need of any special knowledge; but the peasant farmer must do the work of both master and servant in one.

But even regarding the question as a landlord may be supposed to do, we shall find reasons to conclude in favour of permanency of tenure. There is no occasion to refer to so obvious a case, as that in which capital has to be laid out in reclaiming and bringing into cultivation land hitherto unproductive. In such cases permanent possession must be granted, or the work will

not be undertaken. But in the ordinary case of cultivation of land already cleared, a moment's reflection will show that permanency of tenure is an insurance against wasteful and injudicious husbandry. For while a tenant, who can be turned out at the end of the current year, can feel no interest in the state of the land beyond the term of his own holding, it is in his power during his holding to do it damage, which may be long felt, and which may take many years to repair.

We have thus arrived at the conclusion that permanency of tenure is desirable. But permanency of tenure is of no value, unless it be accompanied with limitation of the demand of rent. This is so obvious that no formal demonstration is required. But there are certain arguments commonly urged against permanency of tenure and limitation of rent, which require to be examined into. First, it is said that they lead to minute sub-division of land. Admitted, but so does tenancy at will, if the other conditions be the same. Minute sub-division will take place when population increases rapidly, and has no source of support but agriculture. But fixed tenure gives a motive for putting a check upon over-population: tenancy at will does not. And there are causes of increase of population which act independently of any system of tenure; and which, though they may be counteracted by some systems, cannot be stimulated by any. For example, nobody will say that the early marriages of Hindoos would be encouraged by any system of tenure: so that the evil is incapable of aggravation. But fixed tenure would tend to check them; tenancy at will would not. The cultivator under a system of fixed tenure possesses an index of his own power to maintain and provide for his family: the tenant at will would be compelled, in order to solve the same question, to study obscure laws of supply and demand. We do not mean to say, that the check on over-population which we believe fixed tenure to supply, will be in all cases made use of. All we are now concerned to shew is that it exists. In this respect therefore, fixed tenure is no worse than the other system, and does not tend more to promote minute sub-division of land. Any influence the system we advocate does exercise is in the contrary direction.

Another allegation commonly made against fixed tenures is that they defeat their own end, by throwing open the door to sub-letting. This evil however can be remedied, and should be remedied by legislation. If it is not, we should merely have created a right to rack-rent in favour of a very numerous class. It has been already shewn that the only just claim to the full rent of the soil vests in the State; and it will be seen hereafter, that the class of rent-receivers ought to consist of the smallest number

which is capable of fulfilling certain conditions, and performing certain duties. It can never therefore be economically expedient to invest a very large number with the right to exact an unlimited rent. It may be objected that once an interest amounting to a right of property has been conferred, legislation ought not to dictate how that right shall be exercised. This objection rests upon a misconception of the character of property in land. By the nature of the case, such property must be held subject to conditions: and there is no reason why this should not be one of them.

It may be urged that all which has been said above is applicable only to the case of a country in which agriculture is almost the sole mode of industry, and in which there is enough land to employ nearly the whole population. Where the supply of labour is considerably greater than the employment afforded by the land, there must arise a class of labourers dependent on wages alone for their support. This is true: but it is to be remembered that the increase of population can be held within bounds, and that one of the chief means of doing so consists in holding out prudential motives to the working classes. The acquisition of a permanent holding, placed as an object of ambition before the eyes of a labourer, would probably operate as a motive to prudence. Its effects no doubt would be subject to be weakened by contrary motives, but at worst it would only be neutralized, and the contrary motives would exist under any system of tenure.

Besides this, it is to be remembered that if the limitation of rent produced its natural effect, the enriching of the cultivating class, this again would create a new demand for articles of consumption. Certain things now luxuries would take place among necessities: and new luxuries would be demanded. Hence would arise a market for the labour which the natural increase of population would call into existence.

Another topic commonly urged against permanency of tenure in the hands of actual cultivators, is the supposed difficulty of applying capital extensively to agricultural operations under such a system. By this may be meant, either a difficulty in bringing land together in large masses, or a difficulty in undertaking certain kinds of work to facilitate agriculture. In the first case the difficulty is admitted; but it is not admitted that it is a matter of such consequence. There are not many kinds of produce of which it can be affirmed with certainty, that large areas are more favourable to their production than small. Probably live stock may be said to be the only thing that requires large farms. And for it provision might be made.



While asserting that cultivation on the small scale must under the circumstances of the country be the rule in India, it is by no means meant to exclude large farms where there is the possibility of working them. It will be seen hereafter that our plan makes provision for them.

As regards the expenditure of capital on extensive works for facilitating agriculture, (such for instance as irrigation and the like) it may be observed, that it seldom happens that individual landholders have the requisite capital, or if they have the capital, that they also have the will to lay it out. It falls therefore either to Joint Stock Companies, or to the State, to undertake works of this description : and it seems reasonable to think that the State will do the work best. For the primary object of the Companies will naturally be to enrich themselves : that of the State (supposing it to fulfil its duties) to enrich the community. It will be the interest of the Companies to exact as much payment as they can from those who benefit by their operations : the State will have no interest beyond raising taxation to defray the cost. It is also to be noted that the performers of works of such a nature will virtually possess a monopoly : which monopoly, if not vested in the State, would at any rate require State supervision and control. But while the existence of numerous small tenures is an obstacle to private enterprise, it could be none to the State in similar undertakings.

The general objection against the interference of the State in commercial ventures does not apply here. It may be generally said, that the principle of non-interference is subject to more exceptions in dealing with land, than in most other departments of economy. The State can never wholly part with its proprietorship : and in India it has retained a greater share than in most other countries. The obligation to undertake works of the description referred to is acknowledged ; but there seems to be a disposition to qualify the acknowledgment, and to say that it would be better if the State could leave such things to private speculation. We do not agree in this view. It is a very remarkable fact that while such tendencies are shewing themselves in India, the public in England are finding out that private enterprise has failed in an important department (railways), and are calling for its nationalisation. To us the cases seem to be analogous. Irrigation works for India are as much national concerns as Railways : and, what is equally to the purpose, they are as likely to be mismanaged, though their mismanagement may not result in ghastly tragedies.

We have dwelt thus long on the expediency of fixed tenure and limitation of rent, because there is a general, and as we

hold, a wrong belief that this form of tenure is economically bad. We have now to address ourselves to another question : whether, between the State and the Cultivator, there should be interposed an intermediate interest in land. In other words, should there be a class of persons enjoying a considerable portion of the rent, and corresponding in some degree to the class of landlords? It will startle people who are accustomed to think of landlords only in the English sense of the word, to be told that there is no absolute necessity for their existence. Yet such is the fact. The landlord had his use when, like the English proprietor, he was a feudal lord : he had his use when (like those of the talukdars and zemindars of India, who were not downright usurpers and robbers) he was the chief of a clan. But in neither case did his powers or his privileges assimilate to those of a modern English landlord : and in neither case, we may add, would the language have been applicable to him which we find constantly used by a section of the press of this country, whose principle seems to be 'the divine right of landlords to wrong their tenants.' In feudal times the lord was the head of a military organisation, and his power gave secure tenure to his military vassals and serfs against any other potentate, as long as he himself retained his position. Under the patriarchal system, the chief was as much the representative of the tribe as its ruler. Under most modern systems, he is neither the one nor the other. Neither is he, save exceptionally, an improver of the land, and we have shewn that in the peculiar circumstances of India at least, improvement is to be looked for from other sources.

There is therefore no political or economical necessity for his existence. There is nothing to hinder the State from taking its rents from cultivators by means of its own officials. But there are reasons why it may, under certain circumstances, be expedient to entrust the duty of receiving the rents to certain classes of persons, and to make their position to some extent analogous to that of landlords in the ordinary sense of the word.

For example, there could be no objection to choosing the official collectors of rent out of the classes whose position in times past resembled that of landlords. There would be an advantage too in doing so, where the person so selected was a chief of a clan, or a person connected by long standing association with the locality in which his office is to be exercised. Nor would there be any objection to his office being hereditary, provided that the rules of its transmission were so framed as to provide against incompetency, and against the sub-division of the office.

In a word, the existing class of so-called landlords could fill the

office with but little modification in their existing powers and privileges. It is always desirable that existing institutions should be as tenderly dealt with as is practicable. The recognition of what we hold to be, economically and politically, the true character of landed property, is not inconsistent with the performance of important functions by the officer who receives the State rents.

We shall therefore assume, that it is both possible and desirable to retain under certain conditions the class, intermediate between the State and the cultivator, which we shall designate, as the least, misleading term by the name of talukadars. In the powers exercised by them we should make no great limitation. They should not have the right of demanding increased rent from the tenants, save by legal process and on known conditions. We have already intimated that sub-letting should be restricted: and the talukadar of each estate would be the proper person to enforce the restriction.

It would we think, be absolutely necessary to limit the size of estates to such dimensions, that they could be easily and profitably managed by one man; and then to adopt measures to prevent their further sub-division. The advantage of limits on both sides is obvious. No man should have more to do than he could reasonably be expected to get through: it could only lead to the employment of irresponsible agents, and the defeat of the ends of the system. On the other hand too numerous a body of receivers of rent is a great evil. Clearly the greater number of persons that have to be maintained out of the rent, the greater the share that must be intercepted between the cultivator and the Government. And since the share of the Government is fixed for long periods if not in perpetuity, and the number of intermediate receivers of rent tends steadily to increase, the tendency is to increase the pressure on the cultivator; which we have already shewn to be inexpedient. It may be remarked that herein lies the real evil of the Village Settlement of the North-West Provinces. Every village community is a joint stock company of petty rent receivers; and when in addition to this fact, the strange intercomplication of their rights is taken into account, no one can be surprised that their progress in wealth is slow, compared with what it might be under a more rational system. The same remark applies to all arrangements under which cultivators with right of occupancy can sublet their land.

The exclusion of incompetent persons and the prevention of sub-division would involve considerable modification in the rules of inheritance. It would probably be necessary to adopt some

form of primogeniture, with careful provisions for management during minority: unless indeed minorities were entirely excluded by reviving that ancient rule which admitted the succession of collaterals of full age in preference to minor descendants. But such an extreme measure as this is hardly to be expected: though it could be shewn not to be indefensible on economical and political grounds.

Under the system whose outlines are here roughly sketched it would be possible, we believe, to create a landed aristocracy free from most of the usual faults of such a body, and fulfilling important duties in the commonwealth. They would be sufficiently wealthy to have some leisure: they would be in a position favourable to the attainment of knowledge and culture: they would be placed so as to mediate, as it were, between the Government and the mass of the people. Such a body would perform valuable functions also in the administration of justice, and in the general management of local institutions.

We have said above that landlords are very seldom capitalists, and it does not seem to us very important that they should be. But we think that a body, such as we describe, would be able to accumulate capital enough for any purpose for which it is at all likely to be wanted. Whenever, for instance, the advance of the country shall have led to the introduction of agricultural machinery, the land-holder will be in a position to possess the machines required for the common use of the tenants on the estate managed by him: and it is in this or the like form, that the capitalist landholder is most likely to be useful.

It will be seen that we are virtually recommending a modification of the talukadary settlement which now prevails in Oudh. That settlement we believe to be capable of becoming the basis of a system of tenure which would be both conservative and progressive; would have its basis in historical tradition, and yet possess a power of developing into something like theoretical perfection. But the plan we advocate requires more modification of the theory than of the practice of talukadary settlement. Our theory requires that the ryot be considered the tenant in chief of the State, and the talukadar a hereditary middleman. In practice we would leave the latter very much as he is.

But it is the theory that makes all the difference. We think it is essential to recognise the ryot, the actual cultivator, as the direct tenant of the State; and to recognise the State as the ultimate absolute proprietor of the soil. At present, claims are put forward on behalf of various persons and classes, which claims we believe to have no foundation either in history or in

expediency. Certainly no case can be made out on economic grounds, which does not assume as its basis, that the land is primarily the property of the whole mass of the community collectively. From this it is easy to infer the right and duty of the State, in its governing capacity, to settle tenures, and we think we have indicated the way in which they could best be settled, for the interest of such a community as that of India.

Let us briefly recapitulate what we have attempted to prove. First, we pointed out that the foundation of all true economic theories of land tenure is the assumption, that the land is the property, not of any class, but of the whole collective community. We shewed that the tendency of all countries whose agriculture is their staple industry, is towards small holdings in the possession of the actual cultivators. We then proved that permanency of tenure and limitation of demand of rent are essential conditions of improvement.

We laid down the principle, that in India the State is the universal landlord, and the ryot is the direct tenant of the State; but we admitted that there was no objection to interposing an intermediate interest, and that the course was not without advantage. At the same time, we asserted that the powers of the class thus created ought to be strictly limited by the considerations before indicated, regarding the position of the ryot.

It is our firm persuasion that all amendment of the laws (so-called) of Landlord and Tenant, must be founded on principles such as we have laid down. We believe it would be in vain to attempt to convert the zemindars and talukadars of India into landlords of the English type. Landlords like the old race now happily dying out in Ireland, they might become, but we need not ask whether that would be a benefit. But even supposing that they could be made English landlords, we deny that it would be right to sacrifice to them the interests of the mass of the people. We do not believe in any marked superiority in the English farm system, as an instrument of production; and we are sure that the English farm system is markedly inferior to the system we suggest, as an instrument of distribution.

We conclude with a few practical suggestions. In Ryotwary Settlements we think the true theory has been adhered to, and all that is needed is such modification in detail as will make the system work smoothly. We have indicated, that we do not see any absolute necessity for the interposition of landholders between the cultivating tenant and the State. Therefore wherever the system of receiving rent directly from the ryot has become traditional, we see no occasion to alter it. In a

settlement like that of Oudh, all that is needed is to insist on the true theory, and adjust the still unrecorded rights in accordance with it. In Bengal, Government has foregone its right of benefiting by the natural increase of rent, but not of adjusting tenures; and here the tenant can be at least protected against arbitrary exaction.

In such settlements as those that prevail in the North-West Provinces, still greater modifications would be requisite. Provision should be made for the gradual absorption of the petty and complicated interests of the village communities. Compensation should be given for the right of collecting rent, either in the form of a permanent settlement of seer holdings, or a favourable rent, liable to fluctuation if circumstances required it. The right of collecting rent should be vested in talukadars, where any could be found; where they have become extinct, they might be created, if circumstances allowed; or the rent levied through Government officers, which could be as easily done as the revenue is now collected.

But above all things, sub-letting of land should be strictly prohibited. No transfer should be sanctioned, save under the authority of the talukadar, where there was one, or of the official receiver of the rent, where it was collected directly.

By such means, as we believe, a great degree of improvement would be rendered possible. At any rate, the retrogression would be prevented, which is certain to ensue upon any attempt to introduce those wholly artificial systems of land tenure which were produced by historical accident in England, and which are erroneously imagined to have contributed to England's prosperity.

In reality it was England's prosperity in commerce and manufactures that saved her land tenures. Had England been as purely an agricultural country as France, she would have shaken off her corrupt feudalities as France shook off hers. Her industrial and commercial wealth has enabled her to bear with them; but her case is purely exceptional, and any attempt to set her up as a model for other countries in this matter, shows either presumptuous ignorance or invincible prejudice.

ART. V.—1. *Sushruta.*

2. *The Annals of Medicine.*

3. *The Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society.*

4. *Reports of the Medical College, Calcutta.*

5. *Speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Maine, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University at the Convocation for 1864-65.*

LOOKING back to Vedic India, we find that the Hindus, who had made greater advance in civilization than several other ancient peoples, directed their attention from a very early period to the healing art. They studied with great success the means and appliances of curing disease and alleviating suffering. The traditions shew the high estimation in which the science and practice of medicine were held, for they tell us that an accomplished Bhoiddoo, *Dewanantore*, was one of the fourteen *Ratnas* or gems produced by the churning of the ocean.

It was in the East that medical philosophy was first cultivated, While it reposed in Asia on the solid foundations of induction and deduction, it rested in Europe on the baseless support of the supernatural, and was in fact obliterated in superstition. The researches of the Hindus did not emerge, like those of the Arabians, from medicine, but their physicians took an active part in the investigation of metaphysical and moral questions. Some of the Bhoiddooes were distinguished philosophers and critics, and the medical *tols* were great 'foci' of learning. That medicine was cultivated in India from time out of mind does not admit of a moment's question. The brahmins were the first teachers and improvers of it. They performed the same service to the Hindus that the Hindus, the Nestorians, and the Jews, performed to the Arabians, and the latter to the Europeans.

The medical system of the Hindus like that of the ancient Greeks was for a long time crude, as might be naturally expected, was associated with religion, and was administered by priests.

Greek medicine originated in the temples of *Æsculapius* whither the sick poor were accustomed to repair for the medical advice of that god. It was gratuitously given and was duly acknowledged by optional gifts. The *Asclepion* served both as schools and hospitals, and its professors united medical with

ecclesiastical pursuits. Every sickness was attributed to the vengeance of some offended god. Epidemics were considered as the severest manifestations of the celestial wrath. It was reserved for Hippocrates, 'the divine old man,' to explode the doctrine of the theological nature of the disease, and to enunciate that of its material nature. He imputed the afflictions of men not to the anger of the gods, but to the disturbance of the humours of the body. Those humours, as taught by him, are four in number, and formed by the four elements of which the body is composed. The humours being liable to undergo change, health consists in their proper adjustment and equilibrium, and disease in their impurity and inequability. He developed this theory and pursued it to its legitimate lengths, in utter disregard of the angry and interested opposition of the followers of *Æsculapius*. He studied in connection with it the special peculiarities of the human system, and the influences exercised on it by constitutional and climatic causes. He believed that the animal heat varied with different periods of life, being at its maximum in infancy, and at its minimum in old age, and he attributed to this variation the greater or lesser action of morbid agents on the body. He therefore urged the physician to attend carefully to the condition of his patients, in regard to their regimen, as the best mode of regulating their general susceptibilities. He also inculcates the necessity of watching the modes in which the humours are undergoing their "fermenting action," the phenomena displayed in the critical days, and the nature and character of the critical discharges. He does not attempt to check the process going on, but simply to assist the operations of nature, and the most accomplished physician now aims at doing no more.

The Hippocratic school of Cos found a formidable rival in the school of Chidus, which not only propounded a different theory of the nature of disease, but inculcated a different principle of cure. The Chidians, like the Homœopaths and also several of the Allopaths of our days, eschewed the active and anti-philogistic-treatment of Hippocrates, never resorting to drastic purgatives, venesection, or the energetic means. They numbered several eminent medical writers, such as Philiston, who wrote on the regimen for persons in health, Diocles, who discoursed on Hygiene gymnastics, and Praxagoras, who developed the theory that the pulse is the chief test and measure of the nature and force of disease,—a theory to which the modern Cabirajes and Hakims of India are wedded.

The progress of these medical schools in Greece struck at the root of the union between the priesthood and the profession.



As the latter separated itself, departments for the cultivation of special branches of medicine, such as Pharmacy and Surgery, were formed. In Greece the cultivators of medicine were divided into two grades, namely those who pursued it as a profession, and those who followed it as an industrial occupation. Among the latter was Aristotle who kept an apothecary's shop at Athens. Is it possible to fancy the great philosopher vending powders and lotions behind his counter?

The Greeks who may fairly boast of having produced the father of medicine, were not slow in appreciating and acknowledging the merits of the Hindu physicians. Arian in his ancient history informs us, that in the expedition of Alexander to India, the Grecian physicians found no remedy against the bites of snakes, but the Indians cured those who happened to fall under that misfortune. Alexander, according to Nearchus, having all the most skilful Indians about his person, caused proclamation to be made throughout the camp, that whoever might be bitten by one of those snakes, should forthwith repair to the royal pavilion to be cured. These physicians are also said "to have made other cures, but as the inhabitants have a very temperate climate, they are not subject to many varieties of disease. However if any among them feel themselves much indisposed, they apply to their Sophists (brahmins), who by wonderful and even more than human means cure whatever will admit of it." Strabo quoting Megasthenes states, that "there is a class of physicians among the Indians (brahmins) who rely most on diet and regimen and next on external applications, having a great distrust of the effects of more powerful modes of treatment. They are also said at that early period (A. D. 300) to have employed charms in aid of their medicines."

The reputation of the brahmins was not altogether undeserved. They perfectly knew how much human suffering could be alleviated by the application of the curative agencies with which nature has so abundantly supplied this country. They thoroughly appreciated the knowledge of a remedy to mitigate pain or remove a disease, and they sought to embody it in their Shastras and retain it in their families. But the imperfection of their knowledge, their ignorance of the operations of nature, and their powerlessness to cope with evils to which flesh is heir, combined to induce them to invoke the aid of their gods and rishees either as physicians or as counsellors. Among the former may be mentioned Shiva, Indra, Surya, Danantiri, and the twin Ashvinkoomars. Among the latter were Purasara, Baradaza and Kosub. The reason of their calling in supernatural assistance, is to be found in their original belief that illness was the

proof of moral guilt of the patient in the present or previous state of existence. These devotees, mohorshees, and rishees, were supposed at different times to have compassionated the disease-stricken condition of mortals, and to have communicated to a favored few the means of preventing and curing diseases. Medicine at that time in India was what it is often still elsewhere—that is to say, in no respect scientific, but absolutely surrendered to individual inspiration or supernatural revelation. In such a state of things, the progress of a superior man healing the sick with gentleness, and giving him by sensible signs the assurance of recovery, is often a puissant remedial agent. Such were the rishees and danuforees. But they had no more idea of a rational system of medicine than the mass of their countrymen, who believed that healing was to be effected by religious practices. Such a belief was perfectly consistent with the Shastras. As disease was regarded in the light of a punishment of sin committed in a former state of existence or of the act of a demon, the best physician was he who professed a control over the spirit-land. But the belief in the theological origin of disease waned in the age of the Dursuns and during the Bhuddistic period, and was ultimately displaced by the conviction of the material nature of human afflictions.

The Ayur Veda is the most venerable medical authority of the Hindus, for in it is embodied the ancient system of medicine. It is difficult to fix the age of this work, but the Sanscrit would indicate an early period. The Ayur Veda has no relation to the four great Vedas in which the code of the divine legislation of the Hindus is embodied. It is an Apa Veda, and is intended to teach the proper manner of living in this world by preventing and curing diseases in the present state. It is said to have originally consisted of one thousand sections of a hundred stanzas each; but that the celestial author, compassionating the weakness of men, and the difficulty of their mastering so voluminous a treatise, abridged and divided it into tantras.

There are several other medical works based on the plan of the Ayur Veda, such as the Charoka by Charak, Bhilatantra by Bhila, Parasara Sanheta by Parasara, Harita Sanheta by Harita, and Sushruta by Sushruta. The Ugni Pooran also treats of medicine. The Bhilatantra and Parasara Sanheta are now irrecoverable. Charoka and Sushruta are the great standard works of medicine permanent in their influence. It must have taken years to complete them. The names of their authors are not to be found in the modern Hindu Pantheon. They probably flourished during the Bhuddistic era. Professor Wilson states that 'from the Charoka and Sushruta being mentioned in the

Pooran, the ninth or tenth century is the most modern limit of our conjecture; while the style of the authors as well as their having become heroes of fable, indicate a long anterior date. One commentary on the text of Sushruta, made by Ubhaila a Cashmerian, is probably as old as the twelfth or thirteenth century, and his commentary it is known was preceded by others.' The Charaka is arranged in the form of dialogues between the master and the pupils. It follows the division of the eight parts of the Ayr Veda, the first division containing the *Materia Medica*, the enumeration, classification, and uses, of medicines. In this work simple medicines are described as well as their combinations. But owing to want of exact anatomical and pathological knowledge, the arrangement of the diseases is often obscure and the descriptions inaccurate. Sushruta, the reputed son of the versatile Bisha Mittra, was instructed by Danuntori in medicine, and was recommended by his master to abridge the Ayr Veda, and arrange it into sections and chapters so as to be easily understood. The work prepared by Sushruta is of very high authority, and ranks only next to the Charaka. It treats first of Surgery, traces the origin of disease, prescribes the rules of teaching and the duty of practitioners, describes the uses of instruments and medicines, the influence of the weather on health, and the practice to be followed after surgical operations. It also describes the diseases of the humours and surgical diseases, different stages of inflammation, different forms of wounds and ulcers, and the regimen of patients laboring under them. This remarkable work also treats of nosology, the description and diagnosis of diseases produced by vitiated humours or derangement of blood and bile: it treats of anatomy or structure of the body: it treats of conception, and of the growth and development of the different parts of the body: further, it treats of toxicology, and points out the means of distinguishing poisoned food, and describes mineral, vegetable, and animal, poisons.

This work is the great surgical code, as the Charaka is the great medical code, of the Hindus. Those who were taught by Sushruta became surgeons, and the followers of Charaka physicians. The works which go by their names constitute the substratum of the later medical systems. These are all built upon the foundations laid by Charaka and Sushruta. The recent Hindu medical writers have uniformly adhered to the definitions, classification, and general details, of the great originals.

The anatomical descriptions of Sushruta evince a certain knowledge of the structure of the body, and afford conclusive evidence of the freedom of the ancient Hindus from those

religious prejudices against touching a dead body which have for a long time interfered with dissection. The dissections were of course conducted in an imperfect way and by rude instruments. The dead bodies were kept under water for several days, and when they had undergone mortification, they were taken out and subjected to the process. 'When a proper body for the purpose' says Sashruta, 'has been selected, the dejections are to be removed, the body washed and placed in a frame-work of wood, properly secured by means of grass, hemp, or the like. The body is then to be placed in still water in a situation in which it will not be destroyed by birds, fishes, or animals. It is to remain seven days in the water when it will have become putrid. It is then to be removed to a convenient situation and with a brush made of reeds, hair, or bamboo-bark, the body is to be rubbed so as by degrees to exhibit the skin fresh &c., which are each in their term to be observed before being removed.' The anatomical system of the ancient Hindus was no doubt superficial, but it was precisely what might be expected in a very early stage of a civilization. But such as it was, it retrograded instead of making any advance.

Contact with dead bodies became sinful in the eyes of the Pooranic Hindu, and the expiation enjoined in the Shastras became more and more rigid till dissection fell into disuse. It is therefore not to be wondered at that the commentators and imitators of the founders of the Hindu medicine, being ignorant of anatomy and the real causes of disease, made many errors in their prescriptions. They blindly and implicitly followed the authorities, to the utter neglect of that careful and continued examinations of the progress of the diseases, by which alone their true nature and successful treatment are discovered. We thus see that although the healing art attained to very great eminence among the ancient Hindus, nearly all traces of it have long passed away among their descendants. When we speak of such eminence, we do not mean to assert that the Hindu system of medicines ever made the advance attained by the European system; but we maintain that comparison between the two systems is not fair and cannot hold good, inasmuch as the one had flourished ages before the other had been formed. The consideration of the agency of time vitiates such comparison. The Hindus, depressed by their social institutions and enslaved by foreign yoke, ceased to progress in their arts and sciences. The Europeans, socially and politically free and regenerated, made giant strides in the path of progression. No wonder therefore, that the great mass of the Hindus are apparently now what the Europeans were three centuries before the Christian era.

Twenty centuries have done an immense deal for the European, but comparatively little or nothing for the Hindus. But comparing the ancient Hindus with contemporaneous nations, we find they occupied a foremost station amongst the great peoples of antiquity. They speculated profoundly on the mysteries, not only of the inner, but the outward, man, and they had acquired great proficiency, as we have seen, in the healing art.

Through the Nestorians and the Jews of Alexandria, the Arabs became acquainted with the medical science of Greece and Egypt. To this was added the knowledge of Hindu medicine derived from India. This knowledge contributed in no inconsiderable degree to the subsequent proficiency attained in that science by the Arabs. When the furious storm of Arabic conquest was over, we find, during the calm that succeeded it, the Jewish physicians innoculating the minds of the Caliphs of Bagdad with enlightened ideas. Maser Djariah, physician to the Caliph Moawiyah, was celebrated as a critic and a philosopher. Haroun, also a physician attached to the Caliphate, is known as the author of pandects, containing the first elaborate description of the small-pox and its treatment. The Caliph Haroun Alraschid was not only a munificent patron of the medical college at Djondesabour, but founded a university at Bagdad, and passed an edict prohibiting any person from practising medicine until after a satisfactory examination before one of those faculties. Not only the great works of Charaka and Sashruta, but, the Nidan and other minor treatises on the diseases of women and therapeutics, were translated and studied by the Arabs in the days of Haroun Alraschid. The sixth volume of the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society contains an interesting extract from a Persian work entitled 'Fountains of Information Respecting the Classes of physicians, by Mnuivaffik-Uddin Abu—Cabbas Ahmed Ibir Abin Usaibiah.' It gives us the names of the Hindu physicians who flourished in the court of Bagdad, and furnishes us with much valuable information regarding their qualifications, and the services rendered by them to the cause of medical literature. Among them is Kanka, an essentially Hindu name. He is described as a skilful physician, and one of the greatest of men. He investigated the art of physic, the power of medicines, the nature of compound substances, and the properties of simple substances. Next is Sangahal, who is described as one of the learned men of India, and eminent among them for knowledge in medicine and astrology. He was the author of a book called 'The Great Book of Nativities.' The others are Shanek, Manka, and Jander, who are said to be learned in the art of medicine and skilful in the application

of remedies. Of Manka the following interesting anecdote in connection with Caliph Haroun, is related by the author of the histories of the Caliphs and the Barmacides. 'Alraschid was afflicted with a severe disease, and although attended by his physicians could not recover from his illness. Then Abu Amru Alagus said to him: 'there is a physician in India named Manka, who is one of their devotees and philosophers: if the Commander of the Faithful would send to him, God would perhaps grant him the restoration of his health through his means. Alraschid therefore sent a person to fetch him, and at the same time to convey him such a present as would induce him to undertake the journey. Accordingly he came and attended Alraschid, who, under his treatment, recovered from his disease, and in consequence bestowed upon him considerable wealth and granted him a pension.'

The question now forces itself on us, 'How is it that the healing art, after having made such marked progress among the ancient Hindus, should have degenerated into a silly and senseless *empiricism* among their descendants?' The solution of it is to be found in the non-progression, or rather retrogression, of the arts and sciences of the Hindus, since their subjugation to a foreign yoke.

Time was, when the profession of a Bhoidoo was held in the highest estimation. Pooranic tradition has it, that an amiable young woman, of the Vaisya caste; by name Amba, was serving as a maidservant to a rishi called Galaba, who, pleased with her conduct, poured forth on her this *bor*, or blessing, that she would have a beautiful and valuable son. She communicated this circumstance to her parents, who asked the Munee how that could be, as she was not married, and that the birth of a child would be a curse, and not a blessing, to the family. The rishi dogmatically asserted that what he had predicted would be verified, and added that the child should be denominated Verbhádra that he would be much respected and that his profession would be that of Bhoidoo. This child was the first of the Bhoidoo or medical caste. He begat thirteen sons, who were taught by the rishees the medical Shastras, and they became the most accomplished and skilful *cobirajas*. They constitute the original stock from whom the Hindoo physicians are derived, and form the caste of Bhoidoos. The rishees and mohorshees are said to have been the original teachers of the medical profession. They imparted their instructions in the form of oral lectures which were delivered in a peripatetic manner in open public places, such as Socrates chose for his lectures, and at which the pupils attended and took notes.

There were also itinerant teachers who travelled about with their students curing diseases, so as to convince them of the efficacy of remedies by ocular demonstration.

The medical Shastras compare a good teacher to rain falling upon the germinating seed, and prescribe the following qualifications as essential to the due exercise of his vocation. 'A perfect knowledge of the Shastras joined to extensive practical knowledge and skill. He should be kind and humble to every one. He should have no defects of the body, and should always be ready to expose the good, rather than the bad, qualities of others. He should be clean and neat in his person, and possess and exhibit to his pupils all kinds of medicine and instruments. He should be always increasing his knowledge of books, and should neither be angry by the importunities of others, nor fatigued by *their* importunities. He should be kind and considerate to his pupils, and be able to explain the most complicated statements in the simplest and most perspicuous language. Such a person as this, who instructs his pupils, when of good parentage, is like the seasonable cloud and rain upon the corn field, which quickly matures its valuable produce.'

The Bhoidoo teachers number among them many rhetoricians, grammarians, poets, and moralists. The qualifications of the medical students are thus described. 'In all cases the medical student should be the son of a respectable and ancient family, who is either the son of a practitioner or of one who respects the medical profession. He should be inquisitive and observant, not covetous, jealous, or lazy.'

'He should be a philanthropist, possess a generous heart, and his disposition be amiable and happy.'

In the treatment of diseases of the poor and helpless people, the practitioner is enjoined to be as careful as of his own relations.

By night and by day, their anxious desire should always be to consider how they are to cure the sick under their care.

'The physician should possess a good memory and be always amiable, cheerful, and collected. His language should be mild, candid, and encouraging, rather like that of a friend than an acquaintance, and he should always be ready to assist the sick. His heart should be pure and charitable, and he should carefully follow the instructions of his *Guru*, and of his predecessors. Such a physician should possess a character for strictest veracity, of calm temper, and of the greatest sobriety and chastity.

He should be a man of sense and benevolence, and his constant study should be how he is to do good. As a person may

be afraid of his father and mother, friends, and *Guru*, but not of his physicians, so the physician should be more kind and considerate as a rule to the sick, than a father, a mother, a friend, or a *Guru*. Medical men, bred under such a system, were blessings to their fellow-beings, and adorned the noble profession to which they belonged. The Bhoidoos were, men of cultivated minds, and their status in society was high, second only to that of the learned Brahmins.

Centuries before educated men in Europe adopted the profession of medicine and surgery, the surgeons and physicians of India had thought and written in one of the purest and most copious languages. But the dark ages came upon this land, and enshrouded its length and breadth in a thick and impenetrable veil of ignorance and superstition. The healing art, like other useful arts and sciences, ceased to be sedulously and properly cultivated, and soon degenerated into a huge sham. The faculty became distinguished only by the gross ignorance or downright imposture of its members.

The profession being claimed as a birth-right by the members of the Bhoidoo caste, was handed down from father to son as a matter of inheritance. Every Bhoidoo was *per se* a *coberaj*, he was inducted into the profession without any examination or previous training, but was merely required to feel the pulse, administer the *Borees*, and exhibit the *Pauchans*, according to their sweet pleasure. The former mixed with *toolsee* (*salvia*) leaves and honey, and the latter infused into hot water, constituted his whole Pharmacopœia. The drugs being administered rather homœopathically were comparatively innocuous. Not so the regimen and the regulations for diet and clothing on which the *Coberajes* placed their grand reliance. Absolute fasting during the first day of acute fever and several other complaints were rigidly enforced. This regimen was not unfrequently prescribed even in chronic cases, and in the last stage of prostration, when the system most requires to be supported by nourishment.

In cases of fever attended with thirst, boiled water in infinitesimal doses was only allowed; the cry of nature was thus stifled. Free air, bathing, and sponging, were religiously excluded. No wonder, therefore, that the results of such treatment were most unequal and unsatisfactory; in perhaps an hundred cases, one was cured by the remedies employed, or rather in spite of them; but in ninety-nine cases the patients were precipitated to the grave by either inanition or the administration of deleterious drugs. The pathology and therapeutics of the *Coberajes* were a compound of ignorance and pedantry. These men were innocent of all knowledge of medicine in its true and extended



signification; namely, that knowledge which can be useful in enabling us to prevent the occurrence of diseases, or which may assist us when diseases have occurred, in conducting their treatment with a view to their alleviation or cure. They had no acquaintance with the human economy in a state of health, or with the pathological conditions to which it is liable. They were equally ignorant of morbid causes and therapeutic agents. The results, of this ignorance were most disastrous, and loudly called for the interference of the State. But it was not until the year 1822, that the first organized effort was made by the Government for the communication of medical instruction to the natives. In that year the 'Native Medical Institution' was established for the purpose of training native doctors. The instructive Staff consisted of a civil assistant surgeon and two native assistants. The former was a man of extensive erudition, but he did not know how to go to work the right way. He had no faith in the work he was entrusted with, and rather than bring discredit on himself by failure, he wanted to wash his hands of the business. Instruction was imparted through the medium of the Ordoo language. There was no attempt at the dissection of the human body, because it would have interfered, as it was supposed, with the religious prejudices of the students. The only practical information on this subject was obtained from the dissection of lower animals, and from *post mortem* examinations of persons dying in the General Hospital, which the students were permitted to witness.

In 1826, two medical classes were established by the Government, in connection with the Sanscrit and Madrassa Colleges.

In these classes, rudimentary treatises on anatomy, surgery, and medicine, translated from the English into the Bengallee and Ordoo, were taught along with the ancient Hindoo and Mahomedan medical works. But neither the medical institution, nor the medical classes, answered their object; they had no element of vitality in them. The result obtained was far from satisfactory. At last however, the deplorable state of medical education attracted the attention of Lord William Bentinck, and he appointed a committee to report on it, and to suggest the best means of disseminating medical instruction.

It was in accordance with the suggestion of this committee, that the Governor General in Council passed an order announcing the abolition of the medical institution and the medical classes, and the formation, in their stead, of a new college, for 'the instruction of a certain number of native youths in the various branches of medical science.' The college was placed under the control of the committee of education, who were accordingly charged with

providing a suitable building, a library, anatomical preparations, and all other objects of an indispensable necessity to the education of the pupils. The benefits of the institution were not confined to the foundation students, but were declared open to all classes of native youths, without exception to creed or caste. It was placed under the management of a superintendent and an assistant superintendent, who were required to devote the whole of their time to the duties of the institution, and were not permitted to enter into private practice, or to hold any situation that could in any way withdraw their attention from those duties. Mr. Assistant Surgeon M. J. Bramley was nominated to the situation of the superintendent of the new medical college. He was assisted by a brilliant professional staff, consisting of Dr. H. H. Goodeve, as Professor of Anatomy, and Dr. W. B. Shaughnessy as Professor of Chemistry. Both these officers had made the respective sciences they were appointed to teach their specialities, and were the first men in their respective departments. The college was opened on the 1st June, 1835, and was located in an old house in the rear of the Hindu College. Lord Auckland paid a visit to the college on its removal to the present magnificent edifice. On that occasion Dr. Bramley delivered an impressive address to the pupils in the presence of his lordship and a distinguished assembly. But the doctor was not destined to continue his labours long for the institution placed under his fostering care. He died in January, 1837. This melancholy event was regarded as almost fatal to the rising college. But Government wisely stepped in, and made a judicious arrangement by which the anticipated effects of that event were obviated. The office of superintendent was abolished, and the salary appropriated to new professorships. Mr. Egerton was appointed professor of surgery and clinical surgery, Mr. R. O'Shaughnessy, demonstrator of anatomy, and Dr. Wallich, superintendent of the botanic garden, *ex-officio* professor of botany, Drs. Goodeve and Shaughnessy continuing their respective professorships as before. The professors further were formed into a council, and David Hare, the apostle of native education, was appointed secretary to the college. The last appointment reflected great credit on the Educational Board and the Government, for a wiser measure could scarcely have been devised to strengthen and perpetuate the infant Medical Institution. The enthusiastic attachment, with which the native youth regarded Mr. Hare, served as a cement to its newly laid, but rudely shaken, foundation. It will be seen that the English system of education, in all its detail, was adopted in the Medical College. Anatomy by dissection was regarded as the basis of medical knowledge. Dissections were

introduced by the most gradual and cautious steps under the personal supervision of Dr. Goodeve. The late Mudoosoodun Goopta, rising above the prejudices of the age, was the first to handle the dissecting knife, and thereby showed the necessity and importance of studying anatomy in the dissecting room. On the 17th October, 1838, Government nominated Drs. Nicolson, Grant, Martin, and Steuart, a Committee for the examination of such senior students of the college, as were reported qualified for the charge of Moffussil Dispensaries. This Committee, considering the great importance of the task imposed upon them in all its relative interests, and the grave responsibility, which the due performance of it incurred, agreed in opinion, that the examinations should be of a thoroughly searching and strict character, not only in justice to the public, but to the students themselves and their teachers. The examination at the time commenced on the 30th October, 1838, and lasted seven days. The candidates were first led in the dissecting room, and made to demonstrate the parts in various sections of the subject; this in the opinion of the examiners they did most creditably. They then performed some surgical operations, and they were subjected to a strictly practical examination: their knowledge of the subjects being put to the severest possible test, with a result that was highly satisfactory. The Committee of Examiners unanimously came to decision to grant diplomas to Dwarkanauth Goopta, Umachurn Set, and Rajkristo Mitter, as the first Hindus who had distinguished themselves by attempting to complete medical education upon enlightened principles. In their report to the Supreme Government the Committee declares, that 'the ordeal through which these young men have passed is one of no common kind, and affords a very gratifying measure of capacity and acquirement. The result is such as to satisfy us that their average knowledge is of a very solid and well grounded character.'

In compliance with the recommendation of the examiners a meeting was held in the theatre of the college for the purpose of conferring diplomas upon the four young men entitled to receive them. Sir Edward Ryan, as President of the general Committee of Public Instruction, presided on the occasion, and presented the graduates with their letters of qualification. After the ceremony was concluded Dr. John Grant read an impressive charge to the graduates. In welcoming them into the ranks of a liberal and honorable profession, he earnestly impressed upon them, that although their preceptorial instruction had been concluded, they were entering upon that system of self education which the medical practitioner must follow in the

school of experience. He urged them to cherish habits of observation. He reminded them of the absolute necessity of moral courage to the medical man, and implored them never to leave that presence of mind, as they must in that case irretrievably commit themselves. He also reminded them of their manifold duties, and asked them to be ever diligent in fulfilling them. He begged that they would not give in to a weakness too common among Bengallees, that of an unwillingness to quit Bengal itself or even Calcutta. He bade them not to be over-solicitous about rank and pay, but to recollect, that there are two kinds of rank, fictitious or mechanical rank, and that which could only be conferred on man by the Almighty and the use he made of his own talents. He asked them to be more solicitous about the latter, like Dr. Simon Nicholson, and to make *him* the model of their conduct. At the conclusion of this telling address the prizes awarded by Baboo Dwarkanauth Tagore to successful students in the annual examinations, and the Government Gold and Silver Medals, with certificates of proficiency, were distributed, and the proceedings were brought to a close by Sir Edward Ryan according thanks to Baboo Dwarkanauth for his enlightened liberality.

One of the most distinguished of the first batch of diplomamen, who thus received their honors amid the admiration of a crowded assembly, has practically shown what can be done by adhering simply to private practice. The success which has attended the honest endeavours of Baboo Dwarkanauth Goopto, affords a literal fulfilment of the good advice of Dr. John Grant.

We are not ignorant of the difficulties which this institution has had to contend with, and how they have been overcome by the tact and judgment of those entrusted with its management. We all know how steadily it has progressed and developed into the first medical school of India. At first education was conveyed in the Medical College in the English language as we have already said. In 1838, a secondary class was formed in Ordoo for the training of up-country young men as native doctors. Subsequently another additional class was opened, namely, the Bengallee class, to which instruction is conveyed through the medium of the vernacular language. Thus, there are now three grades of students educated in the college, namely, the primary or English class, the secondary or military class, and the third created or Bengallee class. Into each of these grades young men of all creeds and colours and countries are admissible, and from them have gone forth, from year to year, sub-assistant surgeons, native doctors, and graduates.

The Medical College has thus been the nursery of our medical men. It has fed all the dispensaries in the Mofussil. Its alumni are also to be found in the army, in charge of jails, in private practice, in railway stations, on board steamers and passenger ships, in the employ of zemindars and planters, and in depôts and shops.

Among the services which the College has rendered is undoubtedly to be reckoned the spread of medical education. A second and a still greater is the creation of scientific habits—of those habits of analysis which must be most important in its effects on the national character and social life of the Hindus. The institution has become a puissant engine for the amelioration of their condition. It has conclusively shown that Hindu youths are quite as capable of acquiring scientific truths as European youths. It has also satisfactorily demonstrated that prejudices most rooted may be overcome, when the power of knowledge is brought to bear on their overthrow.

One of the most important events in the history of the College is the expedition of four students to England for education. It was conducted by Dr. H. H. Goodeve in a most admirable manner. He embarked with the students in his charge, in March, 1845. The courage and enterprise of the young men who accompanied him are beyond all praise; they were entered on their arrival in London as pupils in the University College and 'from that period their course was one uninterrupted course of triumph.' Dr. Chuckerbutty has proved the most distinguished member of that brave band, and has shown to the inhabitants of the civilized world what Hindu students can achieve, when pitted with the students of Europe in the fair field of intellectual competition.

The system of medical instruction pursued in the Medical College, like other systems, has had its blots and imperfections. There have been times when it was at once too lax and too severe—severe in its punishment of pupils of certain grades, but lax in supervision. The weak point of the system is that it does not exact a sufficient amount of general knowledge as the ground-work for the special studies cultivated in the college. It is based on the false theory that rudimentary knowledge is sufficient preparation for the mastering of medicine. We were present in 1838, on the interesting occasion of the conferring of the diplomas upon the passed students, and we listened to the eloquent admonition of Dr. John Grant. We recollect the parental solicitude with which Dr. Grant, Sir Edward Ryan, David Hare, and Dr. H. H. Goodeve regarded this great experiment of enfranchising the Hindu mind from ignorance and superstition. We freely and cheerfully admit that the

College is no longer an experiment, but an accomplished and beneficent triumph. But we maintain more in sorrow than in anger that the degree of enfranchisement of the Hindu mind effected by this Institution is not complete, nor the measure of its success so full as could be wished. We attribute these shortcomings to the system, as we have already said, and we cannot resist the conclusion that it is too indulgent to idleness, or struggles ineffectually with it, and that consequently it sends out along with some accomplished young men, a certain proportion of young persons of idle habits and empty and uncultivated minds. Ill-grounded in the principles of a sound training, taught in a foreign language after foreign modes and by foreign teachers, they find it difficult to master and to retain profitably the knowledge they have acquired, and more so to make it the basis to build up more knowledge. Sprung from the middle class, and often from the class below the middle class, they have little or no opportunity to keep fresh and in active operation their acquirements by conversation with Europeans in society. Many of our medical men are no doubt thoroughly competent to watch the phenomena of known diseases, and to combat them by known remedies, but the defects of their previous general education incapacitate them from being on the alert 'for new diseases, and for new remedies or modification of old remedies to meet the contingencies of shifting condition.' In this respect they resemble those Moonsiffs and Sudder Ameen, who, though well versed in regulations and the Civil Procedure Code, are non-plussed when called upon to lay down the law in special cases. Though well up in routine work, they find themselves at sea when the subjects they have to deal with are surrounded by difficulties and complex circumstances. Our sub-assistant surgeons,—especially those who are located in the Mofussil,—have it in their power to add to the general stock of our knowledge in collateral branches of scientific observations, but how very few of them have, for instance, brought their attainments in chemical analysis to bear on the investigation of the meteorological and agricultural conditions of their districts! The officer who has discovered *alit* to be a substitute for quinine, is not a native but an European graduate.

Again, there are those among the graduates of the Medical College who look upon their profession merely in the light of a trade to make rupees by. We do not for a moment question their right to expect proper and liberal remuneration from the opulent and the well-to-do, but we certainly object to their converting their knowledge into an engine for fleecing the indigent and the distressed: We know of several living examples

of large benevolence among the native as well as the European medical men, and we earnestly hope it may be more extensively emulated by the graduates of the Medical College. We have commented thus freely on the deficiencies of the native medical practitioners because we believe with every good doctor, that the safest and best way to cure a wound is to probe it to its bottom. We must know the source and magnitude of the evil before we can eradicate it. What is true of the physical, holds true also of the mental, organisation.

We believe the Medical College, as respects its instructive staff, its hospitals, its dispensaries, its museums, and the number of patients who benefit by it, now equals many of the best and ancient schools of Europe. It affords the finest medical education in the technical sense of the word. Anatomy, the keystone of medicine, chemistry, and botany, which have thrown such a flood of light on it, first engage the attention of the student. General anatomy and physiology, the theory and practice of medicine, the operative parts of medicine, surgery and midwifery, are then studied under special professors. The actual application of these branches of medical science is pointed out in the wards of the hospitals, and constitutes the process of what is technically called *Walking the Hospital*.

This training is excellent so far it goes, but to be effective, it pre-supposes, or must be at least accompanied by, a knowledge of the English Classics, and of the moral and mental sciences.

The human economy consists of two distinct parts, namely, an organised body and a conscious mind, which act and react on each other in many and marvellous ways. Both those elements being liable to deviations from their normal or healthy conditions, a knowledge of the body and mind in the healthy exercise of their functions, constitutes the basis of medical science. It is on this foundation we would build up the medical education of the natives. The study of the mind in its healthy condition constitutes that department of philosophy which is called Psychology, and is supposed by some to be independent of medicine. But we believe that the consideration of its various phenomena, intellectual and moral, should be included in the same department of medical science that treats of the healthy phenomena of the corporal part of our system. 'There is' says Dr. Brown 'a physiology of the mind as there is a physiology of the body; a science which examines the phenomena of our spiritual part simply as phenomena, and from the order of their succession or other circumstances of analogy, arranges them in classes under certain general names; as in the physiology of our corporal part, we consider the phenomena of a

different kind, which the body exhibits, reduce all the diversities of these under the names of a few general functions.' M. Auguste Comte says, no one is fit to be physician who does not study and understand the whole man moral as well as physical. He calls the existing race of physicians, *Veterinaries*, since they concern themselves with man only in his animal, and not in his human, character. We are convinced that a knowledge of the mental and moral faculties is indispensable to the physiologist, both from their intrinsic importance as parts of the constitution of man, and from the influence which they exercise on his bodily functions. It is also manifest that a knowledge of the mind in its normal condition must be equally indispensable to a proper understanding of the mental diseases, as is a knowledge of the body in its healthy state to the understanding of the ills it is heir to. It is therefore very necessary that our medical men should be impressed with the importance of acquiring such a knowledge of the intellectual and moral powers, as may serve as a substratum for the scientific study and effective treatment of mental diseases.

We are aware that the deficiencies of the general education of our medical students have lately attracted the attention of the proper authorities, and it has been wisely ruled by them that none but a B. A. should be allowed to compete for the degree of M. D. We however, think, that a similar educational test should be established for all competitors for medical diplomas. It is time that the extension of knowledge throughout the various classes of the native community should be kept pace with by the students of the Medical College. It is time that Literature and Mathematics, History and Philosophy, Moral and Mental sciences, should cease to be sealed Shastras to them, and that every subject not immediately connected with professional proficiency should cease to be religiously eschewed.

The medical science is not an exact but an essentially progressive science. The medical man, like other men, in several other departments of knowledge, must be a student for the whole period of his lifetime, for were he to live as long as Methusala, he would have still something to learn. Nature would still have something to reveal to him. But unfortunately the majority of the graduates of the Medical College appear to think that their education is ended, when they obtain their diplomas. This is a great mistake. They must ever continue to be students. To stand still is to retrograde. It is when they leave the walls of the College, that the most important and practical part of their education commences. It is then that they should educate themselves in the observation and treatment of diseases, and test and record



their observation. This country presents a vast field for such researches. We therefore trust that the graduates will find means of collecting, communicating, and publishing, the facts they may discover. What is wanted on their part is study and persistent exertion after leaving College. 'They should recollect that 'men are taught in the Colleges but tried in the world.' They cannot rest on academic honors in the professional career. In the battle of life, in the rubbing of shoulder to shoulder, it is the after performance that proves the man.

In connection with the subject of medical education, we think it were greatly to be desired that the knowledge of medicine were not confined to those who mean to earn their livelihood by practising it as a profession, but that it formed a part of every accomplished native gentleman's ordinary education. In the whole range of useful arts and sciences, there is perhaps scarcely one of which the native community are so ignorant and ill-informed as medicine. Elsewhere ignorance consists perhaps in the absence of knowledge. In this country it is accompanied by all sorts of errors. Her children have been taught every variety of falsehood and absurdity. Their passions and prejudices, their sympathies and antipathies, have been inflamed and excited in aid of every sort of quackery. We know hundreds of respectable and educated natives who suffer dreadfully from this ignorance. We daily meet with living and melancholy examples of dysentery, of diarrhoea, of chronic dyspepsia, of asthma which an acquaintance with the fundamental principles of physiology might have obviated. There are in fact few natives of Bengal who are thoroughly well, or who enjoy genuine health. If the imperative necessity of taking daily exercise, of breathing pure air, feeding on wholesome food, and sleeping in a dry and healthy place, had been more generally understood and systematically acted upon, we should not have seen so many of them bringing their illness on themselves—we should not have met with so many opulent Mullicks and Munduls sitting on the eternal gудdee, smoking the eternal hookah, chewing the eternal pân, and eating the eternal greasy fish curry. But as the conditions of health cannot be conformed to, without a knowledge of the laws of health, we think it is of paramount importance to impart it not only in our colleges and high schools, but in the Mofussil village schools. Those laws are as independent and invariable in their operation as the laws of the mind. We should not wish the Mofussil school-boy to pour over Dr. Graves's lectures. We should not wish to introduce in the Mofussil Schools, Quain's Anatomy or Carpenter's Physiology, but we assert that such a course of physiology as is absolutely necessary for the appreciation

of its fundamental principles, and their bearing on daily conduct, should be an important part of the curriculum of native education. It is impossible to estimate adequately the importance of physical education to the people of this country. It is not only essential to the duration and enjoyment of life, but, without it, their mental culture cannot be effected. It is lamentable how much they have become enervated by their systematic neglect of it.

It is not only in a material but in a moral and religious point of view, that the study of the medical sciences is eminently beneficial. Their influence upon the mind is generous and ennobling. When we consider how elevating is the study of anatomy and physiology, and of the natural and physical sciences on which the healing art is based, how exalted are the ideas which these sciences convey of the attributes of our Creator! The glorious organization of the human frame can never be the fortuitous aggregation of atoms brought together by blind chance, as taught by certain medical materialists, but affords the most indubitable evidence of the skill and power of a maker. ¶What', says the immortal Galen, 'if you see a couch, you infer it was made to lie upon; if a boat, that it was made for floating in, if a house, its doors, its windows, and the proportion of its rooms, would lead you to infer that it was made for human habitation. Yet you can look at man's eye, at man's heart, at a man's hand, even and believe these all chance work.' He then exclaims 'who this God may be, I know not, but unknown, I adore.' Yes in the self-moving, self-acting, self-sustaining, and self-renovating machinery within us, we recognize an Almighty and Omniscient mechanician. We see His Power and Wisdom, His Greatness and Goodness marvellously displayed in the miracles of the animal economy, in the circulation of blood by means of the arteries and veins, alternately communicating with the cavities of the heart, in the generation of the animal heat in the body by the mixture of the respired oxygen with the carbon of the system, in the phenomena of the nervous system which maintain a mysterious connection between mind and matter, in the digestion of the food, its conversion into chyme by the gastric juice secreted by the walls of the stomach and its chylification and assimilation with the blood in the germination of the ovum, and in the formation, development, and maturation of the foetus in the uterus of the mother.

'What is it but God, inspiring God, whose boundless spirit and unremitting energy pervades, adjusts, sustains, and agitates the whole?'

- ART. VI—1. *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, per l'Abbé Guyon. Paris, 1744, 3 volumes.
2. *Memoir pour le Sieur de la Bourdonnais, avec les pièces justificatives*. Paris, 1750.
3. *Memoire pour le Sieur Dupleix contre la Compagnie des Indes avec les pièces justificatives*. A Paris, 1859.
4. *An account of the war in India between the English and French on the coast of Coromandel, &c., &c.* by Richard Owen Cambridge Esq., London, 1761.
5. *A voyage to the East Indies &c.*, by Mr. Grose, London, 1772.
6. *The Modern part of an Universal History from the earliest accounts to the present time*—London, 1781.
7. *A philosophical and political History of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*. By the Abbé Raynal.—*A new translation*—Edinburgh, 1782.
8. *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745*. By Robert Orme, Esq., F. A. S. 1803—reprinted by Pharos and Co., 'Athenæum' Press, Mount Road, 1861.
9. *History of the Mahrattas*, by James Grant Duff, Esq. Longmans', 1826.
10. *The Bengal and Agra Annual Guide and Gazetteer for 1841*. Calcutta, William Rushton and Co., 1861.
11. *Histoire de la conquête de l'Inde par l'Angleterre*, par le Baron Barchou de Penhoen. Paris, 1844.
12. *Inde*, par M. Dubois de Jancigny, Aide-de-Camp du Roi d'Oude, et par M. Xavier Raymond, Attaché à l'Ambassade de Chine, Paris, Firmin Didot Frères 1845.
13. *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army*, by Captain Arthur Broome. Calcutta, Thacker and Co., 1850.
14. *A Gazetteer of Southern India*, by Pharos & Co. Madras, 1855.
15. *The History of British India*, by Mill and Wilson, in ten volumes. London, John Madden, Leadenhall Street, 1858.
16. *The National Review*, Volume xv. London, Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly, 1862.

17. *Nouvelle Biographie Générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours.* Paris, Firmin Didot Frères, 1862.
18. *Carnatic Chronology*, by Charles Philip Brown, late of the Madras Civil Service. London, Bernard Quaritch, 15, Piccadilly, 1863.
19. *The History of India*, by John Clark Marshman. Part I. London, Harrison, Pall Mall, 1864.
20. *Madagascar and its people*, by Lyons McLeod, Esq., F. R. G. S., late British Consul at Mozambique. London Longmans', 1865.

IN the year 1725,\* a small French squadron under the command of M. de Pardaillan, acting under the orders of the government of Pondichery, came to opposite the little town

\* The writer of this article desires here to rectify a mistake which occurred in an article entitled *The Early French in India*, which appeared in the last number of this *Review*. It was stated at page 346 of that number, 'that the exact state of his (Martin's) demise is not accurately known, but it is believed to have occurred in 1725.' This statement was based mainly on the authority, of a biographical sketch of François Martin in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* published in 1861. This sketch concludes thus: 'in 1702, the Company established at Pondichery a superior Council of which it named him' (Martin) President. When the traveller Luillier visited the colony in 1722, and 1723, Martin was still living; but he died probably before 1727,—the year in which the Company concluded with a Hindoo Prince a treaty in which he is not mentioned.' The reference to the treaty intimates as plainly as words can intimate, that Martin was Governor of Pondichery when he died, and the first part of the quotation states boldly that his death occurred subsequently to 1723. The reputation for accuracy which the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* enjoys, was sufficient to induce the writer, in the absence of any opposing testimony, to accept the statement regarding the date of Martin's demise,—the more so, as it appeared to him to receive indirect support from other authorities. The Abbe Guyon, for instance, in his *Histoire des Indes Orientales* states that Martin lived to see the settlement of Pondichery and all that depended upon it in a flourishing condition. Now, as the real prosperity of Pondichery dates from the formation of the Perpetual Company of the Indies, this remark, coupled with the absence of any reference to the successors of Martin, appeared strongly confirmatory of the positive statement in the '*Biographie Générale*.' The first doubt was suggested, long after the article had been printed off, by the perusal of the '*Memoire pour le Sieur Dupleix*'. In this it is stated that Dupleix set out for Pondichery in 1720, and that, on his arrival there, probably the following year, 'the Governor of Pondichery was Monsieur Lenoir'. This was directly at variance with the statement regarding Martin in the '*Biographie Générale*', but it was supported by the writer of the article 'Dupleix' in the *National Review*, who had free access to the *Ariel* papers. But no other work to which it was possible to have access in this country threw any light on the subject. In this perplexity, the writer took the bold

of Maihi, just below Tellichery, on the Malabar coast, and summoned the place to surrender.\* The Governor refused. The situation of Maihi indeed seemed to place it out of all danger. On high ground rising up from the sea, and washed on its north side by a little river, the entrance into which, as it ran into the sea, was closed by rocks for even the smallest boats, Maihi seemed to be able to bid defiance to any enemy who should attack it on the side of the sea. So at least thought the governor, and so, apparently, seemed to think the French commodore. He, at all events, was hesitating as to the course he should adopt under the circumstances, when the captain of one of his ships submitted to him a plan which he begged he might be permitted to carry himself into execution. The name of this captain was Bertrand François Mahé de la Bourdonnais.

As this is a name which will occupy considerable space in these pages, it may be as well to take the earliest opportunity of describing who and what manner of man this was, the earliest trace of whose action in the Indian seas we have just adverted to. La Bourdonnais was born at St. Malo in 1699. When not ten years old he was entered as a common sailor on board a merchant ship bound for the South Sea. Returning thence, he made, in 1713, a second voyage to the East Indies, and to the Philippines. During this voyage, a Jesuit on board taught him mathematics. In 1716 and 1717, he made a third voyage to the North Sea, and in the following year a fourth to the Levant. In his twentieth year, he entered the service of the French India Company, as second lieutenant in a vessel bound to Surat. In 1722, he was promoted to be first lieutenant, and in that grade made a third voyage to the Indies. He occupied his leisure hours during the passage out in composing a treatise on the masting of vessels. But he had an opportunity of shewing on the return voyage, that he was as daring in action as he was prompt and ready in suggestion. His vessel, the *Bourbon*, on

step of appealing to the Governor of Pondichery. The appeal was most promptly and courteously replied to. The Governor, in the kindest manner, sent an extract from an historical document deposited in the archives of Pondichery, in which the dates of the demise or resignation of the several Governors are recorded. From this it appears, that Martin died at an earlier date than that given in the article on the *Early French in India*, and that it is to his successors, trained in his school, and especially to M. Lenoir, who became, for the first time, Governor in 1721, that the credit ascribed to Martin in page 346 of that article is due. The moral of the narrative is not affected by the alteration. It was in the system established by Martin, and in the men trained in his school, that the natives shewed the confidence which was of such value to the settlement.

her arrival off the Isle of Bourbon, was in a sinking state and in want of every thing. No ship was in sight, and no aid was procurable from the island. In this extremity, La Bourdonnais proceeded in one of the ship's boats to the Isle of France, to search there for a vessel to render assistance to the *Bourbon*. His search was successful, and the *Bourbon* was, by this daring exploit saved from destruction.

La Bourdonnais had scarcely returned to France, when he found himself under orders to return to the Indies as captain commanding a frigate. During his previous voyages, he had acquired a knowledge of navigation, of carpentering, of everything that related to the construction of a ship, and of gunnery. But in this, under the able instruction of M. Didier, an engineer in the Royal Service, he devoted himself to engineering, and soon became a proficient in that science. On arriving at Pondichery, he was attached to the squadron of M. de Pardaillan, just starting for the conquest of Maihi. It is under the orders of this commodore, hesitating regarding the attack of the place, that we now find him.

The plan which La Bourdonnais submitted to the commodore, was to land the troops on a raft of his own designing, in order of battle, under cover of the fire of the squadron. He pressed also that he might be permitted to lead them himself. M. de Pardaillan, struck with the ingenuity of the plan, and with energy and quickness of decision evinced by the young officer, gave his consent to the scheme. It was carried out almost instantly. The raft was made, the troops were placed upon it, and, piloted by La Bourdonnais, were landed, with dry feet and almost in order of battle, at the foot of the high ground. This difficulty being surmounted, the place was stormed. As an acknowledgement of the skill and enterprise of his young captain, the commodore, by a slight alteration of the letters which went to form the name of the captured town, transformed it from the Indian Maihi or Mahi into the French Mahé,—the first name of La Bourdonnais. This new name not only took root, but it gradually effaced the recollection that the town had ever borne another.\*

The order of events, as they occurred at Pondichery, will not allow us to proceed for the present with the career of La Bourdonnais. Him, we shall meet again, a little later on the scene. Meanwhile it will be necessary to advert to the proceedings of one whose influence upon French India was destined to be even

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\* We are indebted to the Carnatic Chronology of Mr. C. P. Brown, late Madras C. S. for the information regarding the origin of the name 'Mahé.' It was evidently unknown to Mr. Mill, and equally so to the authors of the *Indian Gazetteers*.

more direct, more commanding, more enduring ;—whose brilliant genius all but completed the work which François Martin had begun ;—who was indebted for all that he did accomplish to his own unassisted energies ; who owed his failure to carry through all his high-soaring designs to that system of universal corruption, which, during the reign of Louis XV. consumed the very vitals of France, ruled in her palaces, and tainted all her public offices. We need scarcely say, that we advert to Joseph François Dupleix.

This illustrious statesman was born at Landrecies, in the province of Flandre, in 1697. His father was a wealthy farmer-general of taxes, and a director of the Company of the Indies. The young Dupleix displayed, at a very early age, a strong passion for the exact sciences, and particularly for mathematics. To the mercantile life, to which his father had destined him, he shewed a decided aversion. To cure him, therefore, of his speculative habit of thought, and to plunge him at once into practical life, the old farmer-general sent the thoughtful and retiring student, then just seventeen, to sea. The result corresponded entirely to his hopes. Dupleix returned from voyages in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, cured of his love of abstract sciences, anxious to mix with the world, eager to put in force theories he had formed on the subject of commercial enterprise. It was in the power of the delighted father to comply at once with his wishes. Director of the Company of the Indies, and a man of no small importance in the direction, he was able to nominate his son, then only twenty-three, to the second position at Pondichery. This was the office of First Councillor and Military Commissioner of the Superior Council. Dupleix joined his appointments in 1720, and at once began to put in force the theories which had formed the subject of his speculations. He found the colonists absorbed by the contemplation and care of the trade between Europe and Pondichery. His idea was to develop and foster a coasting trade and inland traffic. He desired to open out large schemes of commercial exchange at the various towns on the coast, and with the large cities in the interior. It did not seem sufficient to him, that Pondichery should be the exporter merely of her own manufactures and the manufactures of the country in the immediate vicinity ; he would make her the emporium of the commerce of Southern India. The Government of Pondichery was not pecuniarily in a position, at the outset, to embark in the undertaking, although the Governor, Lenoir, regarded its execution as practicable, and even eminently desirable. But this formed no bar to the prosecution of the plan by Dupleix. On the contrary, private trading

being permitted by the Company, he was glad of an opportunity of shewing the European residents of Pondichery, who were clerks of the Company, how they might, by legitimate means, enrich themselves. Anything which could give them an independent position, would tend to give them a higher interest in the country and in the prosperity of the settlement. He himself did not scruple to set a bold example, and to embark his fortune in the trade. The results were such as he had anticipated. He speedily realised a very handsome return, and the knowledge of this had more effect than all his theories in inducing his fellow-countrymen to follow in his footsteps.

Since the formation of the Perpetual Company of the Indies, the control of the directors in Paris over their agents in Pondichery had become far more stringent and direct than it had been prior to 1720. Details were interfered with, regarding the proper management of which the Home Government could have no knowledge, and the most arbitrary, and often ill-judged, orders, were issued. These orders led to misunderstandings and dissensions, and it resulted from one of these, M. Lenoir being at the time Governor-General, that in the month of December 1726, Dupleix was suspended from his office by order of the directors. But, though offered a free passage to France, Dupleix determined to await in India the result of an appeal he at once proceeded to make against that decision. At the end of nearly four years, the result he had striven for occurred. The sentence of suspension was removed, (30th September, 1730), and, as a compensation for the injustice he had suffered, he was appointed very soon after Intendant or Director of Chandernagore, a junior officer previously appointed by Lenoir being removed to make way for him.\*

From the period of its first occupation in 1676, to the time when Dupleix assumed the Intendantship, Chandernagore had, been regarded as a settlement of very minor importance. Starved by the parent Company in Paris, it had been unable, partly from want of means, and partly also from the want of enterprise on the part of the settlers, to carry on any large commercial operations. The town, as we have seen, † had been fortified in 1688. Lodges, or commercial posts, dependent upon Chandernagore, had also

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\* In recording the early career of Dupleix, we have followed the account given in the *National Review*, for October, 1862. No. XXX,—an article which by the truth, the candour, and the boldness, with which it attacks pre-established opinion in order to restore the reputation of a much calumniated man, must be regarded as one of the most valuable contributions to Indian History which the present century has given us.

† *Calcutta Review*, No. LXXXII. Art 5.



been established at Cossim Bazaar, Jougdia, Dacca, Balasore, and Patna. But their operations were of small extent. The long stint of money on the part of the Company of the Indies had had, besides, a most pernicious effect upon the several intendants and their subordinates. The stagnation attendant upon poverty had lasted so long that it had demoralised the community. The members of it had even come to regard stagnation as the natural order of things. It had thus deprived them of energy, of enterprise, of all care for the future. The utmost extent of their efforts was limited to an endeavour to surmount a pressing emergency. That once accomplished, they relapsed at once into the *far niente* mode of life that had become habitual to them. The place itself bore evidence to the same effect. It had a ruined and forlorn appearance; its silent walls were overgrown with jungle; and whilst the swift stream of the Hooghly carried past it Eastern merchandise intended for the rivals who were converting the mud huts of Chuttanuttty into the substantial warehouses of old Calcutta, the landing places of Chandernagore were comparatively deserted.

To govern a settlement thus fallen into a state of passive and assenting decrepitude, Dupleix was deputed in 1731. But, decaying and lifeless though he found it, Dupleix regarded its situation with far other feelings than those of anxiety or dismay. He saw, almost at a glance, the capabilities of the place, and, conscious of his own abilities, having tried and proved at Pondichery his ideas regarding the power of trade, he felt that the task of restoring Chandernagore, would, under his system, be comparatively easy. The office of Intendant had for him this great recommendation, that there was something for a man to do, and he felt that he was the man to do it. Little time did he lose in deliberation. He at once set in action the large fortune he had accumulated, and induced others to join in the venture. He bought ships, freighted cargoes, opened communications with the interior, attracted native merchants to the town. Chandernagore soon felt the effect of her master's hand. Even the subordinates, whom he found there, recovering under the influence of his example from their supineness, begged to be allowed to join in the trade. Dupleix had room for all. To some he advanced money, others he took into partnership, all he encouraged. He had not occupied the Intendantship four years, when, in place of the half dozen country boats which, on his arrival, were lying unemployed at the landing-place, he had at sea thirty or forty ships, a number which increased before his departure to seventy-two, engaged in conveying the merchan-

dise of Bengal, to Surât, to Jeddo, to Mocha, to Bussora, and to China. Nor did he neglect the inland trade. He established commercial relations with some of the principal cities in the interior, and even opened communications with Thibet. Under such a system, Chandernagore speedily recovered from its forlorn condition. From having been the most inconsiderable, it became, in a few years, the most important and flourishing of the European settlements in Bengal. Its revival caused the greatest satisfaction in France. The Government and the directors thoroughly appreciated the advantage of having at the head of the settlement, a man who had such confidence in his own plans, and who cared so little for responsibility, that he never hesitated to advance his own funds for public purposes. Dupleix was always ready to do this, whilst he traded at the same time on his own account. Thus it happened that his fortunes and the fortunes of Chandernagore grew up side by side. If his own gains were great, a comparison of the Chandernagore of 1741 with the Chandernagore of 1731, would have shewn that the gains of the dependency which he governed were certainly not in smaller proportion.

But before we can record the close of this most successful administration, it is necessary that we should refer to other events which were influencing the course of French policy at Pondichery.

M. Lenoir, whose second administration of Pondichery and its dependencies had lasted nine years, was succeeded as Governor-General on the 19th September, 1735, by M. Benoît Dumas, then Governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon. Up to this period, since the death of François Martin, the relative position of Pondichery to the native chieftians in the neighbourhood had but little varied. But with the advent of M. Dumas came the commencement of a new order of things, in no way attributable indeed to the character of that gentleman, but the consequence rather of the character of the events of which the province of the Carnatic was about to become the scene. It is therefore necessary that we should record the events of the government of M. Dumas with some minuteness.

M. Dumas had been a servant of the old Company of the Indies. He had entered the service at the age of seventeen, in the year 1713, and had proceeded direct to Pondichery. Here he displayed so much ability and aptitude, that, five years later, he was made a member of the Supreme Council, and, in June 1721, Attorney General. Transferred thence to the Isles of France and Bourbon as a member of the Supreme Government, and filling there in turn the offices of General Director for the

Company of the Indies, and of President of the Supreme Council, he was finally appointed Governor of those islands. This position he held till 1735, when he was appointed to succeed M. Lenoir as Governor General of the French possessions in the Indies.\* The new governor was a shrewd, calculating, prudent man,—one not given to risk much without having in view a very tangible result; brave, resolute, jealous of the honour of France, thoroughly acquainted with native ways, holding fast by the traditions of François Martin, a lover of peace, and anxious, above all, to extend the French territories in India by smooth means.

M. Dumas, it may be imagined, was just the man to carry out a mild and peaceful policy. Certainly under his sway Pondichery lost nothing of its attractiveness to the independent native rulers. Indeed, almost immediately after his accession to office, a circumstance occurred which served to knit, even more closely, the bonds of friendship that existed between the French and the most powerful of their neighbours,—Dost Ali Khan, Nawab of the Carnatic.

In 1732, Sadutoolla Khan, Nawab of the Carnatic, one of the most enlightened native noblemen of that period, died. His nephew and nearest of kin, Dost Ali, at once assumed the vacant dignity, without however obtaining the sanction of his immediate superior, the Viceroy of the Dekkan. It may have been partly on that account that Dost Ali showed very early a disposition to lean upon European support, and it was not long before he established very intimate relations with the courteous, hospitable, and friendly people who had established themselves at Pondichery. With M. Dumas, in particular, he formed an intimate friendship. Dumas, anxious to turn this to the advantage of the settlement, pressed upon Dost Ali the advisability of procuring for him the permission to coin money,—a permission which had been granted to the English, but, by them, after a short trial, neglected. The Nawab forwarded the request with his own strong recommendations to Delhi, and he succeeded, at the end of 1736, in procuring a Firman issued by Mahomed Shah, and addressed to the Nawab of Arcot, authorising the coinage by the French of the current coin of the realm, in gold and silver, bearing, on one side, the

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\* The account of the previous services of M. Dumas is taken from the Letters Patent issued by Louis XV., dated the 4th September, 1742, confirming the ennobling of M. Dumas, on the occasion of his return to France.

stamp of the Mogul, and, on the other, the name of place at which it was coined.\*

The advantages which the French derived from this permission were very great indeed. The reputation of the Indo-French money became in a short time so great, that it was the cause of establishing a very profitable trade in bullion. But, in addition, the actual profits were large. The annual amount struck off did not fall short of five or six millions of rupees,† and the profits on the coining of this amount were considered equal to an income of 200,000 rupees annually;—a very great consideration in a settlement, which, like that of Pondichery, was left almost to shift for itself by the directors in Europe.‡

But the intimacy with Dost Ali was productive of more important results. Dost Ali had two sons, of whom the eldest was Sufdur Ali, and several daughters, one of whom was married to his nephew, Mortiz Ali, and another to a more distant relation, Chunda Sahib. Of these, Sufder Ali, whilst he did not altogether share his father's liking for the French, had a very great respect for their power, and especially for the fortifications of Pondichery; Chunda Sahib, on the other hand, carried his admiration for the foreigners to a very high pitch. Alone, perhaps amongst his countrymen, he understood them. Born himself without wealth, but possessing great capacity, considerable energy, and unbounded ambition; brought, moreover, by his marriage with the daughter of Dost Ali, into a position, in which, whilst he dared openly aspire to nothing he might secretly hope for almost anything; yet possessing but a small personal following, and being ever in the presence of relatives whose claims and whose power were superior, and whose ambition was equal, to his own; he had been for a long time sensible that he must look for support beyond the circle of his own family. The position of the French had early attracted him. He appears

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\* The following is a translation of an extract from the letter addressed on this occasion by Dost Ali to M. Dumas. 'The reputation you have acquired of being a true and faithful friend is known everywhere. In the view, therefore, to gain your friendship, I grant you permission to coin rupees at Pondichery of the coinage of Arcot, conformably to the Purwanah which I send you.'

† The French rupee was a little broader than an English shilling, and very much thicker. In point of fineness it was superior to the English standard. The gold coin was called the 'Pagoda,' equal in value to about nine shillings. Three hundred and twenty rupees were considered equal to one hundred Pagodas; hence an Indo-French rupee was worth more than two shillings and nine pence.

‡ As a reward for the success of his negotiations in this matter, M. Dumas was made Knight of the Order of St. Michel, and received Patent Letters of nobility.

even then to have detected their latent desire to increase their territory. It is certain, at all events, that he took the first opportunity to proffer his aid to bring fresh lands under their rule. That he did this with the view to obtain for himself French support is scarcely to be doubted. Ever since his connexion with Dost Ali, he, of all the native allies of M. Dumas, had been the most frequent visitor at Pondichery, and had attracted, more than any other, the personal regards of the high officials in that city.

It had happened that at the end of the year 1735, the Hindoo Raja of Trichinopoly had died without issue. A contest for power immediately arose between his widow, the Ranee, and a relation of the deceased prince. In her distress, the Ranee appealed to Dost Ali for assistance. The opportunity was too tempting to be foregone. Dost Ali despatched a force, of which his son Sufer Ali was the nominal, his son-in-law Chunda Sahib the real, commander, to take possession of the disputed territories. The kingdom was soon over-run; the capital alone bade defiance to the invaders. Of this, however, Chunda Sahib obtained possession 26th April, 1736, on taking an oath,\* that his troops should be employed only in the service of the Ranee. But he kept this oath only until Trichinopoly was in his power; he then imprisoned the Ranee, and being invested by Sufer-Ali, who returned to Arcot, with plenary powers, he assumed the government, as Lieutenant for his father-in-law. While in that position he continued to maintain intimate relations with the French.

Adjoining Trichinopoly, lying between it and the Coromandel Coast, lay the Hindoo kingdom of Tanjore. This was bounded on the north side by the river Coleroon, which falls into the sea about thirty miles below Pondichery. Tanjore, one of the conquests of Shahjee, father of the famous Sevajee, had been bestowed in perpetuity by the latter on his brother Venkajee. Venkajee was succeeded by his son Tookajee. This latter, dying in the month of February, 1738, left behind him three sons—Baba Sahib and Sahoojee, legitimate, the third, Pertab Singh, the offspring of a concubine. Baba Sahib succeeded to the sovereignty, but died, the same year, without issue. After a short interregnum, during which

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\* Orme states that the people of the country believed that the Ranee had fallen in love with Chunda Sahib; but the story is improbable. Chunda Sahib may have considered himself free from the responsibility of the oath, because he had taken it upon a brick instead of upon the Koran,—the brick having been wrapped up in the usual covering of the Koran—*Vide Calcutta Review*, No. LXXV. Art. iv.

Seid Khan, the Mahomedan commandant of Tanjore, raised two candidates only to cause them immediately to disappear,—the surviving legitimate son, Sahoojee, obtained possession of power. But in a very short time Seid Khan brought forward Sidoojee, a pretended cousin of Sahoojee, and endeavoured to effect a revolution in his favour. Suddenly collecting their friends they seized on the palace and on the strong places in Tanjore. Sahoojee had barely time to save himself on horseback. Accompanied by a few friends, he passed the Coleroon, and took refuge in the pagoda, Chillumbrum, a very strongly fortified position about six miles north of the Coleroon, and only twenty-four distant from Pondichery. From this place Sahoojee opened negotiations with M. Dumas. He offered to make over to the French the town of Karical, and the fort of Kircan Gurree, ten villages in the country adjacent, and all the lands depending upon them, if M. Dumas would afford him material aid in the recovery of Tanjore. The offer was the most tempting that could have been made. The French had been long engaged in endeavouring to effect an arrangement which would secure to them a footing in the kingdom of Tanjore, but up to that time they had been thwarted by the jealousy of the Dutch at Negapatam, a settlement a few miles south of Karical. Now, however, all that they desired was offered to them. The risk was but little, for they had but to supply one of the contending parties with material aid to ensure an easy victory. M. Dumas did not hesitate. He at once entered into an engagement with the envoys of Sahoojee, by which he bound himself to supply that prince with a lakh of rupees in silver, to furnish him with arms, gun-powder, and other warlike stores, and to render him all other assistance in his power. In return for this engagement, Sahoojee sent him a formal cession of the town of Karical, of the fort of Kircan Gurree on the river Karical, of the ten villages, and of the lands dependent upon them. In pursuance of this engagement, M. Dumas despatched two ships of war, the *Bourbon* of sixty guns, and the *St. Geran* of forty, with troops, artillery, and warlike stores, to take possession of Karical, and to afford the promised assistance. These ships anchored before Karical in the month of August of that year (1738).

Meanwhile Sahoojee had been using other methods more congenial to him than force. By dint of bribes and promises he had gained over the principal nobility of Tanjore, and amongst them the all powerful Seid. A plan of operations was agreed upon in pursuance of which, the usurper, Sidoojee, was suddenly seized in his palace. Intelligence of this was at once

despatched to Chillumbrum, and Sahoojee immediately mounting his horse, returned in triumph to Tanjore.

This was the intelligence that greeted the captains of the *Bourbon* and the *St. Geran*, when they anchored in the roads of Karical. It was accompanied by an intimation that the French succours were not wanted; that Karical was occupied by between three and four thousand troops under Khan Sahib, a trusted officer of Sahoojee; and that any attempt to land would be considered as a hostile act, and would be met accordingly. In consequence of this intimation the senior French captain determined to suspend action pending instructions from Pondichery.

But whilst Sahoojee had transmitted instructions of the nature we have recorded to Karical, he had written in a somewhat different strain to M. Dumas. To him he declared his perfect willingness to surrender Karical, but the impossibility of doing so immediately. He was, he said, scarcely secure in his own capital, and he was threatened at the same time by Chunda Sahib from Trichinopoly. He pointed out the impossibility of surrendering, under such circumstances, resources which were essential to his safety.

These excuses, plausible though they were, did not deceive M. Dumas. Yet there can be no doubt that the slipping from his grasp of this much coveted place just at the moment his hand was closing upon it, was the cause of great mortification and annoyance. He was well aware, at the same time, that with the force in the two ships of war before Karical, it would have been easy to take possession of the place, and that, to a less prudent man, would have been a very great temptation. But M. Dumas' great characteristic was prudence. He would not risk, even for so great a prize, the character gained by the French as a non-aggressive nation. He preferred to wait for the opportunity which he felt sure would, sooner or later, present itself, satisfied that he had made a great step in advance in having secured from the king of Tanjore the legal session of Karical and its dependencies. He therefore recalled the ships to Pondichery.

The opportunity he waited for soon came. No sooner did the intelligence reach Chunda Sahib that Raja Sahoojee had refused to fulfill his engagement regarding Karical, than it seemed to that astute prince that the moment had arrived for him to cement his alliance with the French. He accordingly wrote to M. Dumas, informing him that he was at war with Sahoojee, and offering to march his own troops upon Karical, to conquer it, and to make it over in full sovereignty, to the French. From

them he asked no assistance: he would employ, he said, none but his own soldiers.

Chunda Sahib, it will be recollected, was son-in-law of Dost Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic, and feudal lord of the territory to the north of the French possessions; he himself, as Dost Ali's lieutenant, held the country on the south-west; that on the south-east alone was held by the Raja of Tanjore. It was clear then that Chunda Sahib's offer to conquer a portion of that Raja's possessions involved no risk to the French; it did not even invoke the suspicion of a greed for territorial extension. It was the offer of a powerful Indian potentate to compel a weaker ruler to adhere to his agreement. M. Dumas then violated no principle of his predecessors' policy by accepting that offer. This he did almost as soon as it was made.

No sooner had Chunda Sahib received this permission to act, than he detached four thousand horse, commanded by Francisco Pereira, a Spaniard in his service, but who was entirely attached to French interests, to Karical. The Tanjore forces receded at their approach, and Pereira arrived at Karical, the 6th February, 1739, without meeting with any opposition. He found, however, the fort of Kircan Gurree, on the river Karical, and about a mile and a half from the town, occupied by about four hundred Tanjoreans. He immediately attacked this fort, and stormed it the same day. He then hastened with the news to Pondichery. M. Dumas, delighted with the prompt success, at once equipped a small vessel of an hundred and fifty tons burden, and despatched her with all the troops and stores she could carry to Karical,—Pereira accompanying them. They reached their destination in four and twenty hours, when Karical, the fort of Kircan Gurree, and the adjacent territory, previously ceded by Sahoojee, were made over to the French by Pereira. This cession bears date the 14th February, 1739. A few days later, on receiving an account of the French occupation, M. Dumas despatched to Karical a ship of war, laden with everything necessary to place the settlement in a state of security.\*

The effect of these forcible measures upon Raja Sahoojee was such as might have been expected from a man of his weak and unmanly nature. It completely overawed him. He at once sent messages to Pondichery, casting all the blame of his previous hostile conduct on the evil counsels of the Dutch at Negapatam; stating that he had always intended to cede the

\*Full details of these occurrences are given in Guyon's "*Histoire des Indes Orientales*," and in the "*Memoire particulière sur l'acquisition de Karical*."



territory at the proper time; and professing his readiness now to execute in full the treaty of Chillumbrum. As a proof of his sincerity, he sent at the same time two instruments, dated the 25th April, 1739, one of which contained a ratification of the former treaty, and the other, an order to the inhabitants of the districts he had yielded, to acknowledge and obey the French in future as their masters. It is probable that the complaisance of Sahoojee in this matter was quickened by the fact that one of the clauses of the treaty of Chillumbrum contained a stipulation for the payment to him of an hundred thousand rupees,—a stipulation which the French, now in possession, might, according to oriental notions, have been inclined to evade. Before, however, his propositions reached Pondichery, a domestic revolution hurled Sahoojee from his throne. But his successor and half-brother, Pertab Singh, not only confirmed the agreement of Chillumbrum, but added to it a greater extent of territory. In a personal interview he held with M. Dumas in the beginning of the year 1741, Pertab Singh even recommended him to fortify the towns in his new possessions. From this date, the district of Karical may be regarded as an integral portion of the French possessions in India.\*

But meanwhile events of great importance had occurred. The Mahomedan conquests in the south of India had roused the jealousy of the Mahrattas, and an army of 50,000† men of these famous warriors had assembled under the orders of Ragoojee Bhonsla,—serving under whom, his first campaign, was the afterwards famous Mooraree Rao,—and had marched eastward with the avowed intention of plundering the long untouched Carnatic. But Dost Ali was not prepared to grant them an easy ingress. Learning, towards the end of 1739, that they were approaching by the Damalcherry pass, situated to the north of the river Pone, he at once occupied that strong position with the only troops at his disposal, amounting to about 10,000 men, and sent pressing orders to his son, Sufder

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\* The ceded districts consisted of the town of Karical, the fortress of Kircan Gurree, ten villages on the sea coast, and a tract of country fifteen or sixteen miles in extent, very fertile in rice, and producing also cotton and indigo, inhabited by ten or twelve thousand people, and yielding a yearly rent of ten thousand pagodas, equal to about £4,500, sterling. The town of Karical, at the time of cession, contained 638 houses of stone and brick, and upwards of 5000 inhabitants. The fortress of Kircan Gurree was about gunshot distance from Karical. Both are on the river Karical, a branch of the Coleroon, navigable for vessels of about 200 tons burden. Karical is 75 miles south of Pondichery and 12 miles north of Negapatam.

† Grant Duff,—History of the Mahrattas.—Captain Duff took the numbers from Mahratta manuscripts; they differ somewhat from those given by Orme and other writers.

Ali, and to his son-in-law, Chunda Sahib, to hasten to his assistance. But both Sufder Ali and Chunda Sahib were prosecuting their conquests in the south of India, and though they professed their readiness to obey the summons they had received, they moved, especially Chunda Sahib, with slow and unwilling steps. Before they could arrive, the Mahrattas had approached the pass. This, as the most important, was held by Dost Ali in person, but there was a gorge, or opening, to the south of his position, the defence of which he had entrusted to one of his commanders, a Hindoo. This latter allowed himself to be seduced from his allegiance by appeals to his Hindooism, and permitted the Mahratta Army to march through the gorge he was guarding on the night of the 19th May. The Mahrattas, thus secure of their prey, moved swiftly at daybreak next morning on the rear of the position occupied by Dost Ali. This chieftain, noticing the approach of cavalry, imagined that his son, Sufder Ali, had arrived to reinforce him, and he was only undeceived when their movements indicated undisguised hostility. Driven to bay, however, he determined to sell his life dearly. The battle which ensued, was, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, contested most desperately, and it only terminated when Dost Ali himself and his second son, Hassan Ali, lay dead upon the field, and his first minister, Meer Assud, had been taken prisoner. Almost all the principal officers were killed or trodden under foot by elephants, and the slaughter was unprecedented even in that age. No route could have been more complete.

The account of this defeat spread dismay and consternation in the Carnatic. Sufder Ali, the son of the deceased Nawab, received the news when he had advanced as far as Arcot: he immediately, for greater security, moved at the head of his forces to Vellore, which was better fortified, there to wait the course of events. Chunda Sahib, more dilatory, had not moved beyond the boundary of his satrapy. The intelligence he received determined him to remain within it, and to place its chief city in the best possible state of defence. He returned therefore to Trichinopoly.

On one important matter, however, the two brothers-in-law acted as though they had been inspired by one brain. Regarding the result of the contest with the Mahrattas as extremely uncertain, they bethought them of the protection which the fortifications of Pondichery might be able to offer, and they determined to consign, the one his father's family, the other his own, with all the valuables that could be lightly carried, to the courtesy of M. Dumas.

That gentleman found himself placed by the result of the battle, in very much the same position, as that in which M. Martin had found himself after the defeat of Shere Khan Lodi by Sevajee. On that occasion, as on this, the Mahrattas had completely defeated the actual rulers of the country,—the allies and protectors of the French. The only difference was, and it was a very material difference, that the Pondichery governed by M. Dumas was far more capable of offering an effective resistance than the infant city under the rule of François Martin. M. Dumas, however, notwithstanding his confidence in the defences of Pondichery, was very well aware of the difficulties of his position, and he prepared to act with his usual prudence and judgment. He greatly strengthened, with all the means at his disposal, the west defences of the place. For fifteen days carts and beasts of burden were seen pouring into Pondichery laden with grain and other stores. M. Dumas superintended himself all the arrangements of procuring and storing grain, and of ordering the defences. No point was neglected; his industry was untiring. At the same time, the natives of the surrounding country, who had anything to lose, poured in in vast numbers, bringing with them their stores and valuables. But other and greater guests were approaching. On the 25th of May, five days after the battle, whilst the preparations we have above alluded to were still progressing, a grand cortege was seen moving towards Pondichery. This proved to be the widow of Dost Ali Khan, with her children, her dependents, her jewels and other property, under the escort of a large body of cavalry. Arriving before the walls, she at once sent a message to the Governor, praying for admission into the city.

None knew better than M. Dumas, that if anything would most certainly draw down upon himself the power of the Mahrattas, and would infallibly induce them to move upon Pondichery, it would be the knowledge of the fact that the city contained within its walls the most valuable property of the late Nawab. It is certain that under any circumstances, the chivalrous feelings natural to a real man, would have incited him to throw wide open the gates to one who was not only a woman, but a woman in distress. But there was no occasion for him to act from mere feeling. It was preferable in his eyes to run the risk of bringing the Mahrattas upon Pondichery, than to undergo the certainty of being dishonoured and contemned throughout India. Süder Ali also was still unsubdued, and the refusal to admit his mother would undoubtedly make an enemy of one, who had even then the best chance of becoming the feudal lord of the country about Pondichery. However, before replying to the request of the widow

of Dost Ali, M. Dumas summoned a Council. He told the members that, in his opinion, honour, gratitude, humanity, and policy, all pointed to the admission; he added his reasons, pointed out the risks, and then asked for their opinion. The Council approved his arguments, and a decision was at once arrived at to admit the cavalcade.

This was done with great state and ceremony. The garrison was placed under arms, the ramparts were manned. The governor himself in a magnificent palanquin, and followed by his horse and foot guards, went down to the Valdaour gate. The gate was then thrown open. Immediately there entered, the widow of the Nawab, her daughters and relations, in twenty-two palanquins, followed by fifteen hundred cavalry, eight elephants, three hundred camels, two hundred bullock-carts, and two thousand beasts of burden. The entrance of the principal personage was saluted by a discharge of cannon from the ramparts, and she was conducted by M. Dumas in person to the apartments he had provided her.\* A similar hospitable reception was accorded a few days later to the wife and son of Chunda Sahib.† Meanwhile the Mahrattas, taking advantage of their victory, had marched upon Arcot, and had taken it without opposition. Thence also they sent detachments to pillage the country. But though the devastation they caused was ruinous and often wanton, their actual receipts fell far short of their expectations. The inhabitants of the Carnatic had taken advantage of the first rumours of war to remove all their valuables into fortified places. Some had fled to Madras, some to Vellore, some to Pondichery. The consequence was, that though the Mahrattas gleaned every blade of grass, there was but little else to gather, and they were beginning to feel, that looking at it with the eyes of marauders, the campaign had been a failure.

That was a frame of mind which would willingly have listened to offers of payment for retiring from so barren and desolated a country, and such offers they did receive at the proper time. They had liberated Meer Assud, first minister of the deceased Dost Ali, and he, betaking himself to Vellore, prevailed upon his new master to make proposals of peace to the invader. Meer Assud was a bitter enemy of Chunda Sahib, and he had succeeded in imbuing the mind of Sudder Ali with

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\* These details are taken from the extracts from the archives of Pondichery given *verbatim* in the Abbé Guyon's work, already referred to.

† Orme states (Vol. I., Book L, page 43) that the wife of Sudder Ali also took refuge in Pondichery, but it appears from the correspondence of M. Dumas with the Mahrattas that she joined her husband at Vellore.

suspicious as to the designs of his brother-in-law. He had easily convinced him also that the sacrifice of Chunda Sahib would lighten the conditions likely to be imposed upon himself. This being agreed upon as a basis, negotiations were opened, and after a short interval, a treaty was signed in the month of August 1740, by which it was arranged that Sudder Ali should be recognised as Nawab of the Carnatic in place of his father; that he should pay by instalments ten millions of rupees to the Mahrattas; that he should join his troops to those of the Mahrattas to drive Chunda Sahib from Arcot; and that all the Hindoo princes on the Coromandel coast should be reinstated in possession of the places they held prior to 1736. The two last articles, however, were kept secret, and the better to prevent their existence being suspected, the Mahrattas at once retired from the Carnatic.

Some information however, regarding the secret clauses of this treaty reached M. Dumas, and he did not fail to take advantage of it. He had already been threatened by Ragojee Bhonsla, and a correspondence, not tending at all to accommodate matters, had ensued between them. He had been asked to pay tribute, and he had refused; he had been called upon to give up the wife and son of Chunda Sahib with their treasures, he had replied that all the French in India would die first; Pondichery had been threatened with the fate of Bassein, then recently captured by the Mahrattas from the Portuguese, he had answered that if the Bhonsla came against Pondichery, he would try to deserve his esteem by successfully defending it.\* In this state of the

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\* The following are extracts from the correspondence between Ragojee Bhonsla and M. Dumas: From Ragojee Bhonsla. 'Forty years have elapsed since our sovereign gave you permission to establish yourselves at Pondichery; nevertheless since our army has arrived in these parts, I have not received a single letter from you.

'Our sovereign, persuaded that you were deserving of his friendship, that the French were people of their word, who would never fail in their engagements towards him, made over to you a considerable territory. You agreed to pay an annual tribute, which you never have paid. At last, after a considerable time, the army of the Mahrattas has arrived in these districts. It has beaten the Mussulmans, puffed up with pride, and forced them to pay tribute. We need not tell you this news. We have now orders from the Maharaja to take possession of the fortresses of Trinchinopoly and Gingee, and to put garrisons in them. We have also orders to collect the tribute due from the European towns on the sea coast. I am obliged to obey these orders. When we consider your conduct, and the manner in which the king has favoured you, in allowing you to establish yourselves in his territory, I cannot hinder myself from saying that you are wrong in not paying this tribute. We had consideration for you, and you have acted against us. You have given refuge to the Moguls in your town. Was that well done? Again, Chunda Sahib has left, under your protection,

correspondence, the intimation he had received regarding the secret clauses was of great importance. He continued, with the same ardour, the repair of the fortifications at the same time that new ones were erected. He formed a body of European infantry 1,200 in number, and supplemented them by four or five thousand Mahomedans, whom he armed and drilled in the European fashion,—the germ of the Sepoy army,—and who were found most useful in performing the routine duties of the garrison. He brought into the town also, all the crews of the ships in the roads, and exercised them in the various operations of land warfare. Stores of all sorts he likewise continued to accumulate.

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‘the treasure chests of Trinchinopoly and of Tanjore,—the precious stones, elephants, horses, and other things of which he possessed himself in those kingdoms, as well as his family,—was that, too, well-done? If you wish that we should be friends, you must give up this treasure, these jewels, these horses, these elephants, as well as the wife and son of Chunda Sahib. I send my cavalry to whom you can make them over. If you decline to do so, we shall be compelled to force you to it, as well as to the payment of the tribute which you have kept back for forty years.

‘You know how we have treated the town of Bassein. My army is very numerous, and it wants money for its expenses. If you do not act in conformity with my demands, I shall know how to draw from you wherewith to pay my whole army. Our ships will arrive in a few days. It will be better for you to terminate the matter quickly. I rely upon your sending me, in conformity with this letter, the wife and son of Chunda Sahib, with his elephants, horses, jewels, and treasure.”

Extract from the reply of M. Dumas: ‘You tell me that we have owed for forty years past a tribute to your king. Never has the French Nation been subject to any tribute. It would cost me my head, if the king of France, my master, were informed that I had consented to pay tribute to any one. When the princes of the country gave to the French a piece of land on the sands of the seashore, upon which to build a fortress and a town, they required no other conditions, but that the pagodas and the religion of the people should be unmolested. Although your armies have never yet appeared in our neighbourhood, we have always faithfully observed these conditions.’ \* \* \*

‘You say that you have orders to take possession of the fortresses of Gingee and Trinchinopoly. Well and good, so long as that does not oblige you to become our enemy. As many of the Moguls as have been masters here have treated the French with friendship and distinction. From them we have received only favours. In virtue of this friendship, we have given shelter to the widow of the late Nawab, Dost Ali Khan, with all her family. Ought we to have shut our gates and leave them in the country? Men of honour are incapable of such cowardice. The wife of Chunda Sahib has also come hither with her mother and her brother, and the others have proceeded to Arcot.

‘You have written to me to make over to your horsemen this lady, her son, and the riches she has brought here. You, who are a nobleman full of bravery and generosity, what would you think of me, if I were capable of such baseness? The wife of Chunda Sahib is in Pondichery under the

Whilst these preparations were going on, the new Nawab, Sufder Ali, accompanied by his brother-in-law, Chunda Sahib, paid a visit to Pondichery. The avowed object was to thank M. Dumas for the protection he had afforded to the female members of their families. None knew better than Sufder Ali, how galling to the Mahrattas had been the knowledge that the families and valuables of his late father and of Chunda Sahib were in safety behind the walls of Pondichery. He was well aware that Ragojee Bhonsla, their leader, had expressed his determination to make the French suffer for their audacity; and he, in common with the other chiefs of the Carnatic, had been struck with admiration at the quietly defiant attitude assumed by M. Dumas. His object in visiting him now, was to thank and to reward him. He was quickened in this also, by a message his mother sent him from Pondichery, desiring to see him. At the same time Chunda Sahib, knowing little of the storm that was brewing against him, after proceeding to Arcot to do homage to his brother-in-law as Nawab of the Carnatic and his liege lord, accompanied him to Pondichery.

There they arrived on the evening of the 1st September, 1740, and were received with great demonstrations of friendship and respect by M. Dumas, in a tent, splendidly adorned and illuminated, without the walls. After resting there some time, Sufdur Ali was conducted to the house which had been set apart for his mother and sisters in the public gardens. Here he remained for two days in mourning and seclusion. On the 4th, Sufder Ali paid a visit of state to M. Dumas. He thanked him repeatedly for the courtesy and hospitality extended to the members of his father's family, at a season of great difficulty and danger; declared that it should never be forgotten, and that henceforth the French should be as much the masters of the Carnatic as he himself was. Although these words were merely the expression of the oriental form of gratitude, and

' protection of the King of France, my master, and all the French in India  
' would die rather than deliver her to you. \* \* \* \*

' You threaten me finally that if I do not comply with your demands, you  
' will send your armies against me and lead them hither yourself. I am  
' preparing myself to the utmost of my ability to receive you well, and to  
' deserve your esteem, by shewing that I have the honour of commanding the  
' bravest nation in the world, who know how to defend themselves with  
' intrepidity against those who attack them unjustly. Above all I place my  
' confidence in Almighty God, before whom the most powerful armies are like  
' the light straw which the wind blows away. I hope He will favour the  
' justice of our cause. I have heard what has happened at Bassein, but that  
' place was not defended by Frenchmen.'

*Mémoire dans les archives de la Compagnie des Indes.*

were doubtless only taken as such, the Nawab had evidently deemed it sound policy on his part to conciliate M. Dumas by some practical proof of his esteem. Simultaneously with the announcement of his arrival at Pondichery, he had delivered to the French Governor a parchment conferring upon him personally lands bordering on the southern territory of Pondichery, bringing in a yearly revenue of ten thousand rupees. This cession was soon afterwards confirmed by a Firman from the Court of Delhi.

After a stay of several days in Pondichery the visitors left, Sudder Ali with his father's family proceeding to Arcot, Chunda Sahib, leaving his wife and family with their jewels in Pondichery, making his way alone to Trinchinopoly. To the immediate fortunes of this chieftain, we must now turn our attention.

That M. Dumas had a strong idea that all danger from the Mahrattas had not passed away, is evident from the fact that even after their departure, he continued to labour at the fortifications and to store supplies. That he had communicated these suspicions to Chunda Sahib, and had induced him on the strength of them, to leave his family and valuables at Pondichery, is extremely probable. Yet, it is certain that Chunda Sahib had no sooner quitted Pondichery than he began to act in a manner entirely inconsistent with the idea that he had any fear of a second Mahratta inroad. During the first invasion, he had taken the precaution to store Trinchinopoly with grain, under the conviction that with ample supplies within the walls, the fortifications were strong enough to keep out the Mahrattas for an indefinite period. But, no sooner had he returned from his visit to Pondichery, than, as though he felt assured of the future, he sold the grain, and so far from thinking that any necessity to defend his own territories could arise, he began to entertain a design of adding to them, and sent for that purpose his brother, Bara Sahib, to Madura. This was in the end of November. An account of the movements of Bara Sahib and the unprovided state of Trinchinopoly was quickly conveyed to Ragojee, who, at the head of his Mahrattas had retired only to Shevagunga, some eighty miles in a southerly direction from the capital. The news was that for which Ragojee had been waiting. Without an hour's loss of time, he assembled his forces, made forced marches upon Trinchinopoly, and sat down before it, before Chunda Sahib had taken any steps to replenish his empty stores.

Nevertheless, though taken by surprise, Chunda Sahib resolved to defend himself with resolution. He had hopes too from his brother, Bara Sahib, and to him accordingly he sent a message



urging him to march to his relief. Bara Sahib at once complied, and collecting supplies, escorted them, at the head of three thousand horse and seven thousand foot, towards Trinchinopoly. The Mahrattas, however, had knowledge of all his movements, and on his approaching to within about fifteen miles of the city, they detached a superior force,—amounting to about 20,000 men,—to intercept him. A desperate encounter ensued, Bara Sahib fighting with all the energy of despair. A chance shot, however, hurled him from his elephant, and his followers, missing the inspiration of his presence, at once gave way. The body of Bara Sahib, which was found on the field of battle, was carried to the camp before Trinchinopoly, clothed there in rich stuffs, and sent in to Chunda Sahib, to announce to him, as under similar circumstances the head of Asdrubal had announced to Hannibal, the futility of depending upon his brother for aid.

Thus driven to depend upon his own resources, Chunda Sahib nevertheless continued to display unflinching resolution and determined courage. At last, after defending himself for upwards of three months, the trenches having been opened on the 15th December, having exhausted all his money, stores, almost all his ammunition, and having lost some of his best troops, he had no alternative but to surrender. The terms were hard, his life only being secured to him, but they were the best he could obtain. On the 21st of March, he opened the gates of the city, and surrendered himself a prisoner. He was at once sent off under a strong guard to Sattara, and the Mahrattas appointed Moraree Row as their Viceroy of the kingdom, leaving 14,000 men to support him.

Whilst engaged in the siege of Trinchinopoly, Ragojee Bhonsla had not ceased to lavish his threats upon M. Dumas. His demands even increased. They now embraced the immediate payment of 6,000,000 rupees, a regular annual tribute, and the delivery to him of the wife and son of Chunda Sahib, with their elephants, horses, and jewels. To these demands M. Dumas continued to oppose a steady refusal. He took, however, the precaution of despatching a special messenger to the Isles of France and Bourbon, requesting the early transmission of as many men as could be spared thence to re-inforce his garrison. The Mahratta, however, was bent upon intimidating him. In this view, whilst still himself before Trinchinopoly, he detached a force of about 16,000 men to beat up the coast. These marched upon Portonovo, a town about thirty-two miles south of Pondichery, and then used as a depôt by the Dutch, French, and English. This they plundered, though little to the detriment of the French, who had taken the precaution to move the

greater part of their property within Pondichery. They next moved upon Cudalore, an English settlement twelve miles from Pondichery, which they pillaged. Marching then to within five miles of the French settlement, and halting there, they sent in threatening letters to M. Dumas, detaching small parties at the same time to ravage the country and to collect plunder. At the same time, in pursuance of advices received from the Bhonsla, an expedition was organised on the western coast to attack the French settlement of Mahé.

M. Dumas was not appalled by these letters, nor by the still more threatening visit of one of the chief officers of the Mahratta army, sent to inform him that the fate of Trinchinopoly was reserved for Pondichery. On the contrary, he received this officer with the utmost politeness, shewed him the supplies he had stored up, the guns bristling on the ramparts, the drilled Europeans, the armed Sepoys, hid, in fact, nothing from him. He then calmly informed him, that so long as one Frenchman remained alive, Pondichery would not be evacuated. With reference to the demand of the Mahratta General for tribute, he sent a message to him through the envoy that the territory occupied by the French possessed neither mines of gold nor mines of silver; but that it was rich in iron, and that those who occupied it were ready to use that iron against any assailants. The envoy left immensely impressed with the power and resources of the French settlement, and with the resolute hearing of its Governor.

It happened that on taking his leave, the Mahratta envoy had received from M. Dumas, under the name of cordials, a present of ten bottles of liqueurs. Some of these he made over to his general, Ragojee Bhonsla, and he, in his turn, gave them to his wife, who found them so much to her liking that she insisted upon others being procured, whatever might be the cost. The influence of woman is proverbially powerful. Ragojee was most unwilling, after all his threats, to abate one iota of his demands against Pondichery. Yet the Nantes cordials had given the French an ally against whom he was but a child. These cordials were to be obtained by any means, and it seemed they could only be obtained by friendly communication with M. Dumas. The determination to obtain them led therefore after a good deal of circumlocution to negotiations, which ended finally in a pacification. Ragojee was so charmed by the opportune present of thirty bottles of these cordials, that he soon became disposed to forget all his previous anger against the French. He prohibited any pillaging in the neighbourhood of Pondichery, and he began to listen without anger to the

reports which were made to him that Pondichery was so strong, that in attacking it they had everything to lose and nothing to gain. He accordingly withdrew his demands for the payment of a sum of money, as tribute, and for the delivering of the family of Chunda Sahib, and retired without any further demonstrations, fortified by cordials, to the western coast.

The expedition against Mahé, to the organisation of which we have alluded, resolved itself into a blockade, which lasted eight months, when it was put an end to by M. de la Bourdonnais in a manner to which we shall presently refer.

The conduct of M. Dumas on this occasion; his bold and resolute refusal to deliver up his guests; the coolness with which he had defied the conqueror of Trinchinopoly; procured him, amongst the nations of Southern India, the reputation of a hero. Congratulations and thanks poured into him from all sides. The Viceroy of the Dekkan, Nizam-ool-Moolk, wrote to him a letter of thanks, couched in terms of the highest respect, and transmitted to him, at the same time, a dress of honour. Sufdur Ali, as a mark of esteem, sent him the honour of his deceased father, richly adorned with gold and precious stones, together with three elephants, several horses, many swords and jewelled weapons, and accompanied by a letter carried by his favourite Minister. The Emperor of Delhi, Mahomed Shah, on hearing of this successful resistance to Mahratta presumption, conferred upon M. Dumas the rank and title of Nawab, with the command of 4,500 horsemen, 2,000 of whom he was allowed to keep about his person in time of peace, without being at any charge for their maintenance. On the application of M. Dumas the title and command were declared transferable to his successor.

Shortly before the receipt of these honours, M. Dumas had intimated to his masters his wish to return to his native country. His retirement had been accepted, and Monsieur Joseph François Dupleix, the successful Intendant of Chandernagore, had been nominated to succeed him. M. Dupleix arrived at Pondichery in the month of October 1741, and took at once the oaths as Governor-General, at the same time that he declared himself to be the Mogul's Nawab, and caused himself to be acknowledged as such by the four thousand five hundred horse, of whom his predecessor had held command.

The sketch we have been able to give of the six years' administration of M. Dumas, slight as it is, is yet sufficient to shew that he was no unworthy successor of François Martin. His administration was signalised by the display of tact, prudence, boldness, and skill. He understood the native character thoroughly. So well did he make use of that knowledge, grafted

as it was on his daring yet prudent nature, that though all his allies were beaten, he managed to reap advantage, in the most legitimate manner, from their misfortunes. So adroit was his conduct, that the territory which he coveted he gained without drawing the sword,—he even accepted it, as a favour to his native friends, instead of asking for it as a benefit to himself. Under his rule, the dominions of the French on the Coromandel coast increased very greatly in extent and value, whilst the prestige of the French power attained, in the eyes of the natives, a height which, even to us who look back at it, appears perfectly astounding. It seemed indeed, when Dumas left Pondichery, that it would be only necessary for his successor to continue the same cautious and prudent, yet daring and acquisitive, policy, to make Pondichery the most powerful and important city in Southern India.

That successor, as we have seen, was Dupleix. We left him last engaged, and successfully engaged, in restoring the credit and fortunes of Chandernagore. This he had succeeded in accomplishing beyond his most sanguine expectations. It could not be expected that, occupying as he had, the position of Intendant or Director General of Chandernagore, nominally under the orders of the Governor and Superior Council of Pondichery, yet practically irresponsible,—daily and hourly forced, in fact, to act upon his own responsibility,—he should have not sometimes run counter to the ideas of his immediate superior. The very promptness of Dupleix's acts must have made them often appear rash and precipitate in the eyes of men of ordinary prudence and caution. Difference of opinion on these points had latterly arisen between himself and M. Dumas, and Dupleix, chafing under a control which he felt to be unwise, and believed to be unauthorised, had requested M. Godeheu, a member of his Council who was returning to Europe, to explain, more fully than he could write, the exact state of affairs. The directors at Paris entered fully into the views of their agent at Chandernagore, from whose daring, yet practical, genius they had so largely benefited, and on the resignation of M. Dumas, they at once appointed Dupleix to the post of Governor-General at Pondichery. Into this he was installed in the month of October 1741.\*

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\* Neither Mr. Orme nor Mr. Mill gives the exact date of the appointment of Dupleix. The writer of the article in the '*National Review*,' and the '*Nouvelle Biographie Générale*' give 1742, but the '*Archives de la Compagnie des Indes*,' referred to in the '*Modern Universal History*,' and by the Abbé Guyon, give the month of October 1741 as the precise date; and this is most probably correct. The fact that Dupleix visited Chandernagore in 1742 may have misled the other authorities.

He left Chandernagore, which he had found almost a ruin, the most important European settlement in Bengal, possessing two thousand brick houses, an extensive trade, and unsurpassed credit. He had made for himself, by private trade,—a proceeding not only allowed but encouraged by the directors,—an enormous fortune. In the early part of the year in which he was appointed to Pondichery, Dupleix had married the widow of one of his councillors,—Madame Vincent,\* a lady who had been born and educated in India, but whose strong yet devoted character and brilliant intellect made her an admirable companion for the far sighted and deep scheming politician. Her proficiency in the native languages rendered her aid invaluable to Dupleix in his confidential dealing with Native princes. She likewise added to that proficiency a quickness of comprehension and zealous devotion to his interests, such as form, when united, an inestimable endowment.

On assuming the government of Pondichery, Dupleix found the settlement suffering from the effects of the Mahratta invasion. These marauding warriors, where they had not eaten up the land, had, by the fact of their presence, prevented its being tilled, and now, the misery of famine had succeeded to the desolation of war. Added to this, the Carnatic was in a condition bordering upon anarchy. Sufder Ali had only rid himself of the anticipated rivalry of Chunda Sahib to fall into the real clutches of Nizam-ool-Moolk, the Viceroy of the Deccan, who loudly called upon him for the arrears of revenue, due by him as a vassal of the Mogul. The fortifications of Pondichery, too, however, formidable they might have appeared to a native power, were quite insufficient for defence against an European enemy, and there were no funds available to enlarge or to repair them, notwithstanding that, even at this date, the rumours of the probability of war between France and England were brought out by each sailing vessel.

But Dupleix was equal to the occasion. Convinced that Pondichery had now attained such a stage of development that it was necessary that her power should be recognised and acknowledged, he at once assumed, with an ostentatious publicity, the dignities that had been conferred upon him by the Mogul, receiving homage from those petty chieftains in the neighbourhood, who were of a lower order of nobility. He at the same time set himself to work to enquire into the causes of the increasing public expenditure, to check corruption among the

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\* She was the daughter of a M. Albert, a Frenchman. Her mother belonged to the Portuguese family of De Castro.

subordinate officers of the administration, and to examine the state of the defences. On these several points, with the mode in which they should be remedied, he transmitted full reports to the Company. Having thus set everything in train, he proceeded to Bengal to be installed as Nawab at Chandernagore. When the ceremony, which was conducted with great pomp, was concluded, he went in state to Hooghly for the purpose of paying a visit of respect to the Mahomedan Governor. But this latter, recognising the superior rank of Dupleix, insisted upon making the first visit himself. The honours with which he was received, and the state which he assumed, appear to have made a deep impresson upon the natives, prepared as they were to regard with favour everything that was French, and to have rendered his relations with them of a still more intimate and agreeable character.

On his return to Pondichery from these visits, Dupleix at once assumed a greater state than had been indulged in by any of his predecessors. It was a part of his policy to impress upon the native princes in his vicinity that he too was an officer of the Mogul; that he owed his rank to the Emperor of Delhi. He, therefore, would not permit a single sign or symbol, which rightfully belonged to his rank, to be omitted or neglected. Situated at Pondichery far away from the reach of the distracted court of the descendant of Akber, he was able to avail himself of the credit which his position as an officer of that monarch gave him amongst the natives, without in the smallest degree confining his own action, or making any infringement on the duties he owed to his sovereign. He, in fact, was absolute master of the situation, and he simply used the power given him by his title to strengthen and confirm his position.

Just at this moment, whilst engaged in this laudable design, and preparing at the same time to make Pondichery really as impregnable as the natives believed it to be, Dupleix received from the Company one of those strange despatches so often written by narrow-minded officials holding supreme power, to cripple and thwart their more capable agents on the spot. In this despatch, dated the 18th September 1743, he was informed by the directors in Paris, that, in consequence of the approaching prospect of a war between France and England, they were compelled to restrict the number of vessels for India to four, two of which were destined for Pondichery, and two for Bengal; they then proceeded to press upon him, as the greatest and most important service he could render, (1), the reduction of all the expenses in India by at least one-half, and (2), the suspension of all expenditure on account of

building and fortifications. To carry out this service, they added their belief, 'that this operation cannot be entrusted to better hands than yours, whose wisdom and zeal are known. It is 'that which determines it'—the Company,—'to charge you 'alone with the sole execution of this operation, free from 'consulting with the Council regarding it.'

The announcement, in this despatch, that a war with their great European rivals in India and on the seas was impending, and the injunction which accompanied it to spend no money on the fortifications,—the unsatisfactory condition of which was, nevertheless, known to the Company,—must have sounded strange in the ears of Dupleix. Not only were the fortifications in bad order, but on the front facing the sea there was a space of a thousand toises,—nearly a mile and a quarter,—which was absolutely open. Regarding this in connexion with the intimation he had received of the prospect of an European war, in which the enemies of France might obtain the mastery of the Indian seas, he felt that his duty as Governor of Pondichery,—a place for which he was responsible to his sovereign,—was paramount to every other. The orders which he received he therefore boldly disregarded. He caused a solid rampart to be erected along the entire length of the open space, with a broad and deep ditch in its front. On this, night and day, the workmen were employed; yet with all their vigilance, the rampart was not completed until nearly two years after war with England had broken out, and it required the exercise of all the genius and talent of Dupleix to prevent an attack, by a powerful English squadron, on the unfinished defences. The expenses of this undertaking Dupleix supplied by his purse and by his credit. From the same sources he furnished cargoes to the two vessels which, in pursuance of the notification, came out to Pondichery, and which otherwise would have been forced to return empty. The other point, that of reducing the public expenditure, he carried out with a firm hand. The difficulty of his situation in this respect was enhanced by the fact that he alone was entrusted with the execution of the order; that he was thus not only deprived of the support of his Council, but its members might cast obstacles in the way of the carrying out of an order, in which they were so lightly treated. Abuses were put down, corruption was strangled, salaries were reduced, until, in spite of murmurs on all sides, which, however, were not directed against him personally, the necessary reductions were effected.

These proceedings on the part of Dupleix were most agreeable to the Company in Paris. His very disobe-

dience of their order, in repairing and completing the fortifications of Pondichery, seems to have met with their approval. No wonder, perhaps, considering that the expense of those repairs and of that completion had fallen upon himself. We find them writing to him in a letter, dated the 21st November, 1743, regarding the provision of cargoes for the two ships they had sent out: 'The Company, as you will see by this letter, has been very much pleased at the zeal which you and the Councils of Pondichery and Chandernagore have displayed for its interests in procuring cargoes for our two ships, the *'Fleury'* and the *'Brillant'*, sent from the Isle of France. As it is by your endeavours that this operation was completed, it is proper that you, especially, should enjoy the honour of it.'

With respect to the fortifications, they wrote, under date the 30th November, 1746:—'The promptitude with which the town of Pondichery has been enclosed on the side facing the sea, has given us real pleasure; we are under a great obligation to you on that account'—for this disobedience of their orders! Further on—'We have not seen with less satisfaction all the measures you have taken, both to provide, notwithstanding your poverty, cargoes for the ships, the sailing of which we had announced to you, and to second M. de la Bourdonnais in the operations which he was planning.'

But it was before the receipt of this second letter that war between France and England had been declared. This war had been long threatening. The death of the Emperor Charles VI. without male issue, had tempted France, Prussia, and Bavaria, to combine to despoil his heroic daughter of the possessions she had inherited. In this war, the king of England, George II, soon found himself involved as elector of Hanover. Without any declaration of war on the part of England, he had in 1743, transported a combined army of English, Hanoverians, and Hessians, into the valley of the Main, to co-operate with the Austrians. On the 27th June of the same year, when in danger of being compelled to surrender with his whole army to the French General, the Duc de Noailles, the mad impetuosity of the Duc de Grammont not only saved him from that calamity, but enabled him to gain a great victory before even the two nations were professedly at war. But this was too much for the endurance of France, and in the month of March, 1744, she formally declared war against England.

It will thus be seen, that the event which now took place had been long expected, that the breaking out of war had been



regarded as a mere question of time. We have seen how Dupleix prepared himself to meet those hostilities when they should come. We have now to regard him in a different aspect, to notice how earnestly and indefatigably he strove to ward them off altogether.

When the French Company in Paris intimated to their Governor-General at Pondichery, that war with England was inevitable, they apprised him at the same time that they had instructed the Governor of the Isle of France, M. de la Bourdonnais, to proceed with a squadron to his assistance, but they especially urged upon him to endeavour to bring about a treaty of neutrality with the Governor of the English settlement, and to arrange with him that the commercial operations of both countries with India should continue without molestation from either. Those instructions found Dupleix in the very mood to comply with them, though very little hopeful of success in the negotiation. Of the movements of La Bourdonnais he had no positive knowledge. Even before the declaration of war, the English cruisers had spread themselves over the Indian seas, ready to carry devastation into French commerce. Yet from stray vessels and from other sources, intimation had reached him that a squadron under Commodore Barnet was on its way out, especially charged with the entire destruction of the French settlement.

Nevertheless he made the attempt, earnestly, almost beseechingly. But Mr. Morse, the Governor of Madras, and his Council, had precisely the same reasons for wishing for war, by which Dupleix was influenced in his desire for peace. The squadron under Commodore Barnet was, they well knew, in the Eastern seas, engaged in intercepting the French traders between China and Europe; it was shortly expected, indeed, with its prizes, at Madras; letters had been, some time previously, received announcing its departure from Europe, and those letters contained the instructions for the annihilation of French commerce to which we have just alluded. To the urgent requisition of Dupleix, Mr. Morse pleaded therefore the orders he had received from England.

But another disappointment awaited the French Governor. He had hoped that, should these negotiations fail, he might derive some assistance from the promised squadron of La Bourdonnais. But, just about the time that the unfavourable reply was received from Mr. Morse, intimation also reached him that in obedience to instructions received from Paris, La Bourdonnais had sent back his squadron to France, and was apparently powerless to assist him. Ignorant, as he was then, of the

undaunted energy and persistent resolution which so eminently characterised the Governor of the Isle of France, Dupleix felt himself at that moment absolutely cast upon his own resources. He had now but himself to depend upon. With a garrison of but 436 Europeans, the fortifications of Pondichery progressing, but not then finished, with but one small ship of war at his disposal, he had to meet the threatened attack of three men of war and a frigate, subsequently increased to six vessels of war, whose cannon alone, playing upon the unfinished rampart from the roadstead, could demolish, uninjured, the hostile town. Even the one vessel at his disposal he despatched to the Isle of France, with an urgent requisition to La Bourdonnais to come to his aid. This was a situation to test in the most searching manner the capacity of a man. Was it possible, under such circumstances, to escape the threatened danger and even to turn it to his own profit? It did not seem so certainly, yet Dupleix proved that it could be done. It was when the European enemy appeared most threatening, that the policy adopted from the commencement,—the system inaugurated by Martin and carried on by his successors,—the system of treating the natives of India as friends and as equals, bore its natural fruits. From the menaces of Mr. Morse, Dupleix appealed to the friendship of the successor of Shere Khan Lodi and of Dost Ali. The reply he received shewed that the esteem which the Nawabs of the Carnatic had always professed to feel for the representative of the French nation, was no transient or fair weather sentiment. Anwar-ooddeen, the representative, though not the relative, of those chieftains, had inherited their traditions; he responded to the call made upon him with a fidelity to professions not always exercised in Europe, and Pondichery was saved. To render the account of subsequent events more clear and intelligible, it is necessary that we should state very briefly the principal events that had occurred in the Carnatic since the time we last left it.

The Carnatic suffering from the famine caused by the invasion of the Mahrattas; Chunda Sahib a prisoner at Sattara; his brother-in-law, Sufdar Ali, Nawab, but pressed by his feudal superior, the Subadar of the Dekkan, for arrears of revenue; such was the condition of the Carnatic in the middle of 1741. It was worse for the people than for the ruler. The people had been plundered and were starving. Sufdur Ali, on the contrary, had had his treasures well guarded at Pondichery. Notwithstanding his professions, he had still abundance of wealth to pay up the arrears demanded by the Subadar. But he did not choose to pay it. The Subadar had not supported his demands by force, and Sufdur Ali was resolved not to yield

to a mere verbal request. He amused therefore the Subadar with excuses, and, to be prepared for the worst, he took up his residence at Vellore, whilst he deposited his treasures in the custody of the English at Madras.\* But a crisis was at hand. The assessment, which the stipulated payment to the Mahrattas had compelled Sufdur Ali to impose upon his nobility, had made him extremely unpopular, and had even caused a combination amongst some of his courtiers to resist it. The unsatisfactory nature of his relations with the Subadar had induced these conspirators to believe, that his overthrow would not be regarded with disfavour in that quarter. Amongst those who had joined this conspiracy, was the other brother-in-law of Sufdur Ali, Mortiz Ali by name, a man well known for his cowardice, his cruelty, his wealth, and his parsimony. On the 2nd of September, 1742, this man, taking advantage of the confidence inspired by the contempt which the Nawab felt for him, seized the opportunity of Sufdur Ali being with but few attendants, first to cause him to be poisoned, and that proving ineffectual, to have him stabbed to death. He then proclaimed himself Nawab, and obtaining by artful representations possession of Vellore and acknowledgment from the troops, installed himself at Arcot. But the detestation of his crime combined with the contempt felt for his cowardice to make his tenure of office extremely brief. His principal officers appealed to Morari Rao, Governor of Trichinopoly, and he declared war against him. The English were requested by the insurgent nobility to protect the family and treasure of Sufdur Ali, whilst the army, the support of his power, suddenly made a tumultuous demand upon him for the payment of their arrears. Mortiz Ali, terrified at these demands, and not possessing spirit equal to his crime, bent before the storm, and disguising himself in woman's clothes, fled in safety to the fort of Vellore. On his flight becoming known, the son of Sufdur Ali, Seid Mahomed Khan, an infant who was with his mother at Madras, was at once proclaimed Nawab.

The appointment of an infant to this position did not tend to the tranquillity of the province. Every nobleman assumed an independent position. But, in the beginning of the following year, Nizam-ool-Mulk, the Subadar of the Deccan, appeared upon the scene at the head of an army of 80,000 horse, and 200,000 foot. He at once became the master of the

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\* Orme states that he transferred his confidence, in regard to the custody of his family and treasures, from the French to the English on the advice of his Prime Minister, Meer Assud, who suspected the connexion which existed between Chunda Sahib and M. Dupleix. This Meer Assud was the bitter enemy of Chunda Sahib, and the author of all his calamities.

situation. The upstart noblemen were put down on the threat of being scourged, should they dare to assume the title of Nawab, and one of his chief officers, Khoja Abdalla, was appointed to administer the province. The Subadar then moved upon Trinchinopoly which the Mahrattas evacuated without striking a blow in its defence. Having recovered this principality for the Mogul, he returned to Golconda, taking Khoja Abdalla with him.

It had been intended by the Subadar, that this officer should return to assume the regency of the Carnatic the following year, but on the very eve of starting, he was found dead in his bed. Anwarooddeen, known as a brave and experienced soldier, was appointed to succeed him as governor and guardian to the son of Sufdur Ali.

A few months, however, had not elapsed before, at a wedding to which Mortiz Ali, the murderer of his father, had also been invited, Seid Mahomed Khan was assassinated. In the confusion that followed, Mortiz Ali took to his horse, and escorted by a large body of cavalry, escaped to Vellore. The immediate result was, that Anwarooddeen, who was no relation of the old family, was appointed Nawab of the Carnatic.

This was the man to whom, in the difficult circumstances in which he was placed, the Governor of Pondichery made his appeal. He reminded him of the long standing friendship between his predecessors and the French nation; of the moral support and protection to the families of those predecessors given at the time of the Mahratta invasion; he alluded to the peaceable disposition always shewn by the French; to their desire to be at peace with all around them; and he urged upon the Nawab to prevent, by his authority, the aggression of the other European nation occupying a portion of the seaboard of the Carnatic, upon those who had always been friends to his predecessors, and whose governor was himself an officer and vassal of the Mogul.

Anwarooddeen was not insensible to the force and reason of this appeal. Neither of the European powers on the Coromandel Coast had shewn up to that point any aggressive tendencies, nor had then the superiority of the European soldier in the field been demonstrated in any way. It was natural that he should desire to maintain peace in his jurisdiction and its dependencies, and it is very probable,—indeed subsequent events proved,—that he was not at all insensible to the marks of friendship and cordiality which the rulers of Pondichery had always evinced. He, therefore, sent a pressing message to the governor of Madras, informing him, that he would not permit

any attack on the possessions of the French on the Coromandel coast. The despotic character of this resolution he endeavoured to soften by a shew of fairness; for he informed Mr. Morse at the same time, that should hereafter the French power preponderate, he would use the same authority to prevent any aggressive action on their part. Mr. Morse had no course but compliance.

But though thus saved from immediate attack, the situation of Dupleix was still particularly trying. The English squadron had come round to the Coast, had even received reinforcements, and the vessels of which it was composed, cruising about, were enabled to intercept and destroy the French merchantmen. The Company of the Indies, even before the outbreak of the war, had ceased to send any ships to Pondichery, so that he was dependent for his intelligence on stray arrivals. At Pondichery too and its neighbourhood, the prestige of France had received a rude shock. It was known everywhere, that, but for the interference of the Nawab, he could have been compelled to succumb to the English, and, as a matter of course, the time-servers and sycophants, of whom there are many in every nation, fell off from him. Still, amid the doubt and despondency that surrounded him, he maintained a bold and resolute bearing. Though within all was anxiety, without these was the security of apparent composure. He was, however, immensely relieved, when, in the month of May, 1746, he learned from a sure source, that the long announced and long despaired of squadron of M. de la Bourdonnais had been heard of at Mahé.

La Bourdonnais was last introduced in these pages as the skilful and enterprising officer who had devised the means by which Mahé,—so named, it will be remembered after himself,—had been captured in 1727. We shall now briefly relate the course of his life during the nineteen years that had elapsed since that first brilliant essay of arms in India. Reduced by the peace, to which France at that period seemed disposed, to inactivity, La Bourdonnais, after the capture of Mahé, fitted out a ship on his own account, and traded forthree or four years in the Arabian seas. The ascendancy which he here speedily assumed over all with whom he came into contact, and which especially signalised itself on the occasion of a disturbance, which he succeeded in quelling, between some Portuguese and Arab sailors, in the harbour of Mocha, recommended him to the governor of Goa, and induced that Viceroy to offer him the command of a ship of war under the King of Portugal,—an appointment carrying with it several orders and titles. La Bourdonnais accepted the offer, and made an expedition to

Mozambique, and several cruises in the Indian seas. But the situation of a foreigner in the service of another country can never be wholly satisfactory, and at the end of two years La Bourdonnais found that the annoyances to which he was constantly subjected did not compensate for either the pleasure or profit of his command. He therefore threw it up and returned in 1733 to France. There he married, and, in 1735, he was appointed to succeed M. Dumas as Governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon.

To understand all that La Bourdonnais accomplished in his new position, it is necessary that we should refer to the connexion of the French with those islands from the time of their earliest occupation. We have already\* given a brief sketch of their history from their first discovery by the Portuguese to the occupation of Bourbon by a small number of the baffled colonists of Madagascar in 1672, and the settlement in the Isle of France at some period between 1710 and 1719. It is probable, that the remnants of the Madagascar colonists, never much caring for labour on its own account, would, had they been able, have taken an early opportunity of leaving an island, in which they seemed entirely cut off from association with the outer world. But they had escaped,—a mixed crew of men and women,—the latter, it is stated, being natives,—in two canoes, and they had no means of proceeding in any direction. They betook themselves therefore perforce to the erection of huts, and to the cultivation of articles of food. Fortunately the nature of the soil was such that a very small expenditure of labour was sufficient to enable them to live in comfort and abundance. Soon after, their numbers were increased by the wreck upon their coast of a piratical craft,† on board of which were many female prisoners. By degrees too they were joined by deserters from East Indian ships which touched there. These were for the most part attracted by the easy life which the fertility of the colony enabled its inhabitants to enjoy. The prosperity of the island increased in a greater degree than could be imagined, if the elements of which its society was

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\* *Calcutta Review*, No. LXXXII. page 326-7.

† It is stated that amongst other additions from various sources, the early inhabitants of Bourbon 'received an increase by some English pirates, who came along with Avery, England, Condon, and Pattison, who, after acquiring considerable riches in the Red Sea and Coasts of Arabia and Persia, quitting their way of life, settled on the Island, and had a pardon from the King of France. Some of them were alive in 1763, and their descendants are numerous on the island.' *Dalrymple's Oriental Repository*, Vol. II.

formed were alone considered. Houses were erected, small trading vessels were built, many of them for piratical purposes, slaves were purchased, and articles fit for export were cultivated. So glowing indeed were the accounts of this prosperity taken home to France, by ships which touched at the island, that towards the close of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, the French Company put in their claim to its possession, and sent thither five or six families and a governor.\* The governor was well received at first, but the descendants of the pirates and deserters soon found him an inconvenient incumbrance. They accordingly seized and imprisoned him, and kept him in a dungeon till he died. Their rebellion had no other result. A new governor was sent with orders to punish the ringleaders, and to erect a fort for his protection,—orders which he is stated to have carried out effectually.

In 1717, the population of the island was computed at two thousand nine hundred free men, and eleven hundred slaves. In the following year an event occurred which gave an impetus to its trade, and which assured its future prosperity. This was the introduction of the cultivation of coffee, which thenceforth became the staple trade of the island. Two years prior to this possession had been taken of the deserted Isle of France, although no earnest attempt at colonisation was made before 1721. An edict, dated November of that year, however, decreed the erection of a Provincial Council in that island dependant upon that of Bourbon as in 1723, M. Dumas, Resident of Bourbon, was appointed Governor of both islands. Great inducements were at the same time held out to the inhabitants of Bourbon to emigrate into the larger island. For this purpose grants of land were made to settlers, and sums proportionate to each grant were advanced to each settler by the Company. Yet for several years, it seemed as though the colonisation of the Isle of France was likely to be unprofitable, and that its abandonment was constantly threatened. The colonists had been unable at the expiration of twelve years to set on foot a trade sufficient even to enable them to repay the sums that had been advanced them by the Company. But, in the crisis of the hesitation as to the line of action to be adopted, La Bourdonnais appeared in France. The fame of his skill, his energy, his indomitable resolution, had preceded him, and the Directors resolved to give

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\* It would appear, however, from the *Calendrier des Isles de France et de Bourbon* that the inhabitants had had a regular succession of Governors of their own since the formation of the settlement. Thus, it is recorded that in 1695, Pere Hincinthe, Capuchin, arrived there in the quality of Curate, and took upon himself the right of Governor.

one more chance to the new colony, by appointing as Governor-General of the Isles of France and Bourbon, one who had given so many proofs of the possession of great qualities.

La Bourdonnais went there. He found in Bourbon a fertile soil, a healthy air, and, comparatively a settled community. He found the greater part of the Isle of France on the other hand, still covered with almost impenetrable forests; possessing two harbours, one of which at all events, up to that moment unimproved and scarcely safe, might, with a little labour, be made excellent for all purposes; a soil less fertile indeed than that of Bourbon, but still capable of production; and a climate, mild, temperate and healthy. The fact that it possessed a harbour gave to the Isle of France a great superiority in the eyes of La Bourdonnais over Bourbon, and he at once made it the seat of Government.

But the people! Had La Bourdonnais been less of a real man than he was, he might well have been appalled at the task of making anything of a race to whom toil of any sort seemed the worst species of evil. Almost naked, defenceless, and starving, having preferred to be comfortless and miserable rather than to exercise even the small amount of labour, which in such a clime would have amply supplied their necessities; dwelling in wretched cabins; possessing no energy, living in fear of their lives from the attacks of the Maroons—the free descendants of the slaves who had been kidnapped from Madagascar, and who had found a refuge in the interior—endowed apparently merely with the animal love of existence—these so called colonists were yet capable of combining to resist any lawful authority over them. But La Bourdonnais was not a man to be baffled. He taught them, in an hundred instances, that he was resolved to be master. And yet, in doing this, he shewed such tact, he was so gentle while he was determined, his measures were so wise, and the benefits resulting from them so evident to all, that he forced these colonists, even whilst murmuring against him, to admit in their reasonable moods, that he was the wisest, gentlest, and best of governors, the only man who could have induced them to forego their old habits of indolence and sloth.

By his own personal teaching—whether as regarded the merest rudiments or the higher requirements of agriculture,—the first principles of mechanical labour or the acquirements of the skilled artisan,—by constantly impressing on the minds of these people the absolute necessity under which they lay to work, he succeeded before long in forming out of this unpromising raw material a civilised community. Under his influence, some took to planting,



some to manufacturing, others to soldiering. La Bourdonnais assisted them in many ways. He imported negroes from Madagascar, and employed these as policemen, as cultivators, and as artisans. In a short time the island assumed a new appearance. In place of the uncultivated waste of the interior, and the wretched hovels scattered along the coast, he caused to be built substantial private dwelling houses, magazines, arsenals, barracks, fortifications, mills, quays, canals, and aqueducts. Of these last, one in particular is mentioned, built for the purpose of bringing down fresh water to the port and to the hospitals, as having been three thousand six hundred toises (more than four miles and a quarter) in length. But his greatest efforts were directed to the sea coast. There were, we have seen, two harbours, one on the south-east side of the island, open to the prevailing winds, the other on the north-west side sheltered from the wind, but only to be entered through a narrow channel. On this he bestowed all his efforts, and he very soon made it fit in every respect for the reception of thirty-five or forty ships. He provided it likewise with wet and dry docks, pontoons, canoes, yards, and timber. It was thus as easy to lay up and repair ships at Port Louis, for so he named the capital, as in any port in Europe. In 1737, eighteen months after his arrival, he was able to launch a brigantine; the following year, he built two good ships,\* and put another of five hundred tons on the stocks. This however, was but a portion of what he effected in that respect during his Viceroyalty.

His internal administration was equally energetic and judicious. He took very good care that the negroes were not unduly oppressed by the colonists. He compelled the landowners to lay out tapioca plantations, five hundred yards square, for each negro and family serving under them. He encouraged the cultivation of sugar, soon to become a great success, prevented the indiscriminate slaughter of cattle, and until the breed should revive, he forced the ships crews to live upon fish and turtle during their stay in port.

Nor was he less successful in Bourbon, though that island, at the time of his arrival, was further advanced in civilisation than the other. His principal object was to administer the two

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\* As might have been expected, the first attempts at shipbuilding was not altogether a success. It is related of his first ship, that 'after a great deal of trouble, time, and expense in building, she was found so heavy in launching, that they were obliged to haul her ashore again, and rip of a great deal of timber and put other in her place before she was fit for Sea.' This vessel, the *Travailleur*, was lost, in 1746, in the Ganges, on her way to Chandernagore after the action with Commodore Peyton.

islands, so that they should be valuable to France, and to make them fit to be the commercial station between France and India. To this end, it was necessary that they should be fortified. Though the means were apparently wanting, La Bourdonnais commenced the work and, in less than five years, he succeeded in providing them with such fortifications as would have rendered any attack upon them extremely hazardous.

In 1740, the death of his wife rendered it necessary for La Bourdonnais to return to France. On his arrival there he found that complaints had preceded him. Cardinal Fleury was then still minister. An honest painstaking economist, with little breadth of view, Fleury had but one principle of external policy. This was the maintenance of peace, especially of peace with England, at any price. It was partly from a fear of giving umbrage to England, partly from his economic habits, that he starved the French Navy, neglected the army, and gave no encouragement to commerce. Such a man could have little sympathy with a genius so fertile, an energy so buoyant, a desire to advance French interests so irrepressible, as were bound together in the person of La Bourdonnais. When therefore some of those repressed speculators, and baffled ship-captains, whose gains and depredations had been lessened by the measures of La Bourdonnais, presented to the Minister and to the Directors of the Company a long list of their grievances, accompanied by insinuations common to their class, that La Bourdonnais was working mainly for his own interests, the narrow mind of the Cardinal did not repel the charges, and, worked upon at the same time by the Directors, he began to concert with them measures for his disgrace. It was the intimation of this, and the consequent desire to justify himself, that brought La Bourdonnais from the scene of his labours.

Though narrow minded to a degree, Fleury was an honest man. He received this great colonist with marked disfavour at the outset, but he did not remain long proof against the candour and frankness which characterised alike his demeanour and his statements. La Bourdonnais in fact insisted upon being informed of all that had been said against him, and, this done, he had little difficulty, not only in justifying his conduct, but in convincing the Minister and the Directors of the great value of the measures he had accomplished. The personal charges against him dissolved into air. He shewed, in the course of his justification, that he had never possessed a foot of land in the islands; that he had never traded for a single *livre*; and that so great had been the confidence of the colonists in his impartiality, that all the differences in

the islands had been terminated by his arbitration, without recourse having been had, except in one solitary instance, to a lawsuit.

Released from the charges against him, and reinstated in the confidence of his masters, the fertile mind of La Bourdonnais began at once to resolve fresh schemes. At that time, (1740-41), hostilities between France and England, seemed imminent. The two nations had taken opposite sides in the war of the Austrian succession, and it was evident that not all the devices of Fleury would be able much longer to keep back a declaration of war. Under these circumstances, La Bourdonnais foreseeing that that nation which, on the breaking out of the war, should have an overwhelming superiority of force to the other in the Indian seas, would be able to crush its rival, advised that he should be allowed to equip and fit out a squadron of six or eight ships as vessels of war. With these he proposed to sail to the Isle of France, there to await the breaking out of hostilities. On that event occurring, he would be able, he said, to intercept and capture the English merchantmen, and then, steering to India, would ruin the English settlements in that country.

This plan, practical, easy of execution, and, under an unfettered La Bourdonnais, certain of success, was nevertheless too grand in its grasp to commend itself to the timid and cautious policy of the Directors of the French India Company. These therefore declared against it at once. But Fleury, cautious as he was, had too much of the statesman in his composition, not to perceive the immense advantages that might accrue from its successful operation. La Bourdonnais too was on the spot, and La Bourdonnais was careful to point out to him, amongst other arguments, that his consent to the plan did not commit him to any overt act of hostility against England, that the squadron would patiently await in the harbour of Port Louis the first declaration of war. Fleury, convinced by these and similar arguments, gave in to the plan, merely altering some of the details; the opposition of the Directors he for the time silenced.

The alteration in the details of the scheme, as originally proposed, consisted in the idea of substituting at least two ships of the French Navy for those which La Bourdonnais was to fit out. But, in France, in the reign of Louis XV., action seldom followed counsel. When the time came for the squadron to sail, the two King's ships, with which so much might have been effected, were diverted to some unimportant purpose, and La Bourdonnais found himself reduced to the command of five vessels belonging to the Company. But these would have been sufficient for his purpose, had he been allowed to pursue that

purpose to its end. They carried a considerable armament,\* and they had on board 1200 sailors and 500 soldiers. Yet even amongst these, he had difficulties to contend with. But few of the sailors had ever been at sea, and the soldiers had been but little instructed in military exercises. With both these classes, La Bourdonnais pursued the course he had found so successful with the colonists of the Isle of France. He taught them what their duties were, and he set them himself the best example of doing them. To train them to the various labours likely to devolve upon them, was his constant and unremitting business on the voyage, and to such an extent did he succeed, that the ships which left France on the 5th of April, 1741, manned by landsmen as sailors, and carrying recruits for soldiers, arrived at the Isle of France on the 14th August following, with crews as efficient as those which manned the King's navy, and soldiers as well trained in all their musketry exercises as those who fought at Fontenoy.

It was the sad fate of those heroic men who struggled to establish a French Empire in India, to find their chiefest and most redoubtable enemies in France itself. The genius of Clive, the persistent valour of Coote, and the almost forgotten gallantry of Forde,† might have struggled in vain to overturn a settlement which was based on the solid foundations on which the early rulers of Pondichery had begun to build up a French India, had France herself been true to her struggling children. But the France of Louis XV. more resembled the Medea of the ancient story than the tender and watchful mother. Often did she, 'with her own hands, immolate her 'offspring,' and, failing this, she treated the best and bravest of her sons rather as enemies to be thwarted, baffled, persecuted, and driven to despair, than as men who were devoting all their energies, the every thought of their lives, to increase her dominions. Yes, it was France who was their enemy;—not the France of Napoleon III., jealous of the fame, the rights, the privileges, the comforts, of the meanest of her children:—not the France of the Revolution and of the first Empire, ambitious of glory and of dominion,—but that France of the eighteenth century, which lay bound and gagged and speechless, untaught yet to give out even an inarticulate sound, at the feet of a man, who, shameless and conscienceless himself, cared little what might become of his subjects, provided only that he was

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\* These ships were the *Fleury* of 56 guns, the *Brillant* and *Aimable* of 50 each, the *Renommée* of 28, and the *Parfaite* of 16.

† Vide Broome's *History of the Bengal Army*. Vol. I pages—215-220.

permitted to wallow perpetually in all the excesses of the vilest forms of debauchery.

And it was now, that France betrayed her champion. She betrayed the man, who, but for the acts of the rulers of France, would have enjoyed the best opportunity of effectively establishing a French Empire in India, of rooting out every rival. La Bourdonnais had scarcely set sail, when those infamous intriguers and whisperers,—the certain hangers-on of corrupt Governments—began to uplift the voices, which in his presence had remained mute. Amongst the Directors, the cry was raised that this expensive armament was useless for the purposes of France; that it was intended to minister to the ambition of its promoter. They declared that a policy of neutrality in the Indian seas was the only sound policy, and they expressed a conviction that, in case of war, the English would be glad to accede to such an arrangement. From the Directors the cry rose to the ministry. The weak Fleury, then nearly ninety years old, and no longer under the influence of the spell of La Bourdonnais' presence, after a short struggle, gave way to the clamour. In an evil hour for France and for French India, this dispenser under Louis XV of the fortunes of his country, transmitted orders to Labourdonnais to send back his ships to France, 'even though they should have to sail without cargoes.'

Meanwhile, La Bourdonnais, unsuspecting of back-stairs influence, had, as we have seen, arrived at the Isle of France. The intelligence which awaited him there, was of a nature to stimulate all his energies. He received the news, which had some short time before arrived, of the danger which threatened Pondichery from the anticipated attack of Ragojee Bhonsla, and further that the authorities of the Islands, obeying an urgent requisition from M. Dumas, had despatched their garrisons to India. Impressed with the necessity of saving Pondichery at all costs, La Bourdonnais remained only a week at the Isle of France, and sailed then for Pondichery. Arriving there on the 30th September, he found that the tact and skill of M. Dumas had warded off the danger from that settlement, but that Mahé was still beleaguered. Thither, accordingly, to the scene of his early Indian triumphs, he sailed, and arriving there he speedily re-established French ascendancy. There being nothing more for him to accomplish in India, he returned to the Isle of France to carry out the scheme he had concerted with Fleury. It was on his return thither, that he experienced the bitter pang which those alone can feel, who, prompted in all their actions by noble and generous sentiments, find themselves restrained and held back

by men of inferior, even of contemptible, powers. Then for the first time the order reached him to send back his ships to Europe. He knew the full significance of that order; he felt that it was to give up, for the coming war at all events, all hope of French preponderance in India; he felt that it would leave him a powerless spectator of the triumphs of the English,—disarmed and defenceless, perhaps even a prey to their attacks; he felt that it destroyed the hope of his life, the object of all his toil, the certain accomplishment, but for that, of his legitimate ambition. But what was he to do? The order was imperative. He must obey it. With a pang, the bitterness of which few men can have experienced, and which must have been enhanced afterwards by the prompt realisation of all his anticipations, he sent back the fleet. With it however he sent his own resignation, with an earnest prayer that he might be speedily relieved.

Why did he obey? Surely it was not his fault that he did obey. But what cruel destiny was it that was weighing down the fortunes of France? A few favouring gales, a swift sailing ship, an energetic Captain, and the fate of India might have been changed! Scarcely had the first keenness of the disappointment caused by the departure of the fleet been obliterated in the energetic action which now found a vent in the care of the colony, when there arrived at Port Louis a French ship conveying a despatch from the Controller of the Finances and Minister of State, M. Philibert Orry, authorising La Bourdonnais to retain the fleet, and expressing a hope that he had disobeyed his previous instructions. Cardinal Fleury in fact was dying, Orry was virtual Minister, and taking in at once the great importance of La Bourdonnais' schemes, he had sent out this ship and these instructions. Too late, alas! for La Bourdonnais' hopes. The ships had gone, and there was no possibility of recalling them. Too well had he obeyed his Sovereign's order, for the obedience lost him an Empire.

Can we imagine,—some of us perhaps may,—the aggravation of disappointment which this message from the new Minister must have caused? How many it would have utterly crushed! How many it would have driven to despair! But La Bourdonnais was made of a very hard material. He was not proof against all the attacks of fortune, for he too, as we shall have occasion to describe, had his weak side, but this disappointment neither crushed him nor stopped his action. Learning a little later that the Minister and Directors refused to accept his resignation, he calmly resumed his duties as governor of the islands, and began at once to make preparations for a possible future.

The French Ministry refused to accept the resignation of La Bourdonnais, but they did not immediately send back the ships. They informed him that he possessed all their confidence, and that it was to him they looked to take the Governor-General ship of French India in case of any accident happening to Dupleix. Meanwhile Cardinal Fleury had died (29 January 1743), war had been declared between France and England, and La Bourdonnais saw with pain the great rivals of his nation reaping the field which he had sown to gather.\* That English fleet under Commodore Barnet, of which we have already spoken, had come to cruise in the Indian seas, and French merchantmen were picked up in every direction. La Bourdonnais could do nothing to hinder their depredations. As if to add to his perplexities, he, at this time, when utterly powerless himself, received a pressing message from Dupleix, with whom he had been some time in correspondence, begging him to hasten with all the force at his disposal, to the defence of Pondichery.

Then was seen, in full perfection, an example of the truth of the maxim that great difficulties are nothing more than obstacles which a real man may overcome. It would seem impossible that this man, left destitute himself, should have been able to carry assistance to a countryman in distress. But no axiom is more true than this, that nothing is impossible to a brave man,—brave, we mean, not in the narrow view of personal courage, but in its widest and its broadest sense,—brave to bear the reproach, the obloquy, the hatred, the discontent, of his fellow men;—brave to disregard the studied neglect, the insolent glance, the open attacks, of men whom accident has placed higher than himself in the social scale;—brave, still, despite of all, to go on straight to the end he has marked out to himself, despite of jeers and taunts, of open opposition,\* and secret calumny. It was in that sense that La Bourdonnais was brave, and being thus brave, he conquered the impossible.

What was the impossible? Without ships, without sailors, without an army, the Indian ocean covered by hostile cruisers, with no resources but those which he had made in the colony, he was asked to embark an army, to traverse the Indian Ocean, to avoid or encounter the trained fleet of the enemy, and to relieve the beleaguered Capital of French India. Could he stamp upon the ground, and bring into existence the men, the guns, the material, the ships, that he had not? Did

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\* 'We are now executing against you', said Commodore Barnet to the captain of a French merchantman he had taken, 'that which M. de La Bourdonnais had projected against us.'

it not seem a very impossibility? Yet undeterred by this seeming, calmly, patiently, steadfastly did La Bourdonnais set to work to accomplish the undertaking.

To succeed in such an attempt it was especially necessary to greatly dare; to throw to the winds all dread of responsibility; to use to the utmost extent the powers at his disposal. La Bourdonnais thus acted. Every ship—and some, despite the English cruisers, did pass that way,—that touched at Port Louis, likely to be suitable for his purpose, he detained. The objections of the captains and of others interested in the vessels he peremptorily silenced. It was unfortunate that, in addition to other difficulties, the islands, owing to an unwonted scarcity caused by a total failure of the crops, were unable to supply sufficient food for the crews; equally so, that a vessel laden with provisions from Europe, the *Saint Geran*, had gone down at the very entrance of the harbour. Such was the scarcity, that the inhabitants of the islands were restricted by an order of the local council to daily rations of one pound of bread or rice for every European and freeman, and a pound and a half of rice for each negro. The necessary requirements for the equipment of the ships, carpenters and smiths and tailors to work upon them, sailors sufficient to man them and soldiers to be conveyed by them, were alike wanting. But La Bourdonnais determined to make what he had not. He himself, carpenter, engineer, tailor, and smith, constructed with his own hands the model of all the articles that were required. Under his own personal superintendence, some men were trained to act as tailors, to cut out and prepare sails; others, as carpenters, busied themselves with gun-carriages, and fitted the vessels to receive them. Some were set to work to prepare materials for building ships, others to put together those materials. Then again the sailors were trained to work together, to serve the guns, to scale walls, to fire at a mark, to use the grappling hook. Finding their number insufficient, he recruited from the negroes, and formed the whole into mixed companies. Working in this way, he soon found himself at the head of a body of men, well taught and well disciplined, and ready to undertake any enterprise he might assign to them.

Nor was he less painstaking and energetic regarding the supply of provisions. He had already detained and had begun to equip five vessels, including a vessel carrying twenty-six guns which had brought him the pressing requisition from Dupleix, when he received intelligence from France that a squadron of five ships had started from L'Orient, and would be with him in October of that year (1745). The arrival of this squadron would



cause a double strain upon his slender stock of provisions. He therefore arranged that so soon as a ship should be equipped, she should sail at once for the coast of Madagascar, and there lay in supplies of rice and other articles of food that might be procurable. In this way he managed to over-ride that which otherwise would have been an unsurmountable difficulty.

The squadron, promised in October 1745, arrived in January of the following year. It consisted of one ship of war of seventy guns, the *Achille*, and of four unarmed merchantmen.\* To arm and equip these latter, and to reconcile their officers to the displacement of their several cargoes, † tasked all his resources. However he succeeded. The armament consisted almost entirely of eight and twelve pounders, a calibre insignificant when compared with that of the guns ordinarily found, even in those days, on board a man of war. Even of these he had an insufficient number, and almost all his improvised fighting ships were pierced for a greater number of guns than they actually carried. However, one by one, partially equipped as they were, they left the island for the rendezvous at Madagascar. When all had taken their departure, he himself, brimful of bright hopes and enthusiasm, set sail to join them. ‡

This was on the 24th March. Scarcely however had he sighted his squadron, when one of these tempests which periodically sweep over the Indian ocean, burst upon him. His ships were driven from their anchoring ground, and for three days were tossed about by the storm. One of them foundered§; the admiral's ship, the *Achille*, lost her three masts, and many of the others suffered equally. At last however they found a safe refuge in the Bay of Antongil on the north-eastern coast of Madagascar. In this bay, lying off a desert island within it, the work of refitting was undertaken. Perhaps never was such a work begun under so many accumulated disadvantages. The island was marshy and insalubrious; the periodical rains had begun;

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\* La Bourdonnais' expression regarding these vessels runs as follows: "It is proper to observe regarding these vessels that they were very badly off for crews. The *Achille* alone was fitted out as a ship of war. The others were no more armed than simple merchant ships."

† The armament of these vessels necessitated the landing of all the merchandise with which these vessels were laden, to the great loss of the officers.

‡ We subjoin a list of the names of the vessels forming the squadron and their respective armaments. The *Achille* of 70 guns; the *Bourbon* pierced for 42, carrying 34 guns, the *Phenix* pierced for 44, carrying 38 guns; the *Neptune*, pierced for 36, carrying 30 guns; the *Saint Louis*, pierced for 36, carrying 26 guns; the *Lys* pierced for 36, carrying 24 guns, the *Duc d'Orleans* pierced for 36, carrying 24 guns, the *Renommée* pierced for 28, carrying 24 guns; and the *Insulaire* of 30, carrying 20 guns.

§ The *Neptune des Indes* of 34 guns, not included in the above list.

the ships had suffered fearfully, and their crews were knocked up by fatigue. There was no landing place; the forest whence wood was to be procured, was on the mainland upwards of two miles distant; between it and the shore, was a marsh three miles in circumference; a winding river with sufficient water to render the frequent crossing it wearisome, but not sufficient to float the logs down to the sea; and, even when in the sea, they were yet three miles from the shipping. But these difficulties, great as they were, were all overcome. He built a quay of the stone which the island produced, he erected workshops for the construction of masts, ropes, and other appliances; he threw a road across the marsh; he caused the logs to be dragged along the bed of the river, and constructing rude canoes, he launched them at its mouth, and by their aid paddled the logs to the side of the disabled vessels. To choose these logs, he penetrated into the pestilential forests, in order that he might be sure that he had the advantage of the best species of wood procurable. His example stimulated the whole fleet. Those who, at first, had been inclined to shew discontent, could not long resist his magic influence. But a short time elapsed before all worked with an energy of which before they had scarcely seemed capable. At the end of forty-eight days they had repaired every damage, though at a loss, from climate and exposure, of ninety-five Europeans and thirty-three negroes. The fleet however was saved, and was once more ready to sail for the long wished for goal.

At length, on the 1st of June, it started. It consisted now of but nine ships. Besides the *Achille* of seventy guns, one vessel carried thirty-eight guns, one thirty-four guns, one thirty guns, one twenty-six, three twenty four and one twenty guns. He had on board 3342 men, of whom nearly one fourth were Africans. Sailing with a fair wind, constantly exercising and encouraging his crews, La Bourdonnais arrived off Mahé at the end of the month. Here he learned that the English fleet had been last heard off Negapatam, below Karical; that though inferior in the number of ships, and slightly inferior in the number of crews, it was much superior in weight of metal, being armed with 24 pounders, and that it was waiting at Negapatam to intercept him. Summoning his captains on board his ship, La Bourdonnais at once held a Council of war. He was resolved to fight, but he wished first to test the temper of his subordinates. To his delight he found in them an eagerness almost equal to his own, a desire to gain, if possible, the empire of India on the sea. His mind entirely at ease on this point, he altered his course, and a few days later arrived off Trincomalee.

It is time now that we should turn to the proceedings of the English fleet. We left Commodore Barnet, prevented by the interdiction of the Nawab Anwarooddeen from attacking Pondichery, reduced to the necessity of confining his operations to sea. Taking up a position at Mergui, near the entrance of the Malacca Straits, he had employed himself industriously in intercepting French traders, and in effectively stopping French commerce. Hearing some rumours in the early part of 1746 of the intended expedition of La Bourdonnais, he had returned to the Coromandel Coast, and anchored off Fort St. David. Here in the month of April he died, and the command of the squadron devolved upon Commodore Peyton.

This squadron consisted of one ship of sixty guns, three of fifty, one of forty, and one of twenty guns, six ships in all. \* But they carried mostly twenty-four pounders, and were armed with their full complement of guns. A judicious commander would have been able, with such a force, to cause terrible destruction amongst the lightly armed vessels of La Bourdonnais.

Intelligence had been conveyed to Commodore Peyton of the appearance of a French fleet off Ceylon, and he was cruising off Negapatam to intercept it. Early on the morning of the 6th July it was descried. The discovery was made about the same time on board the French vessels, and the hostile squadrons began at once to manœuvre, the English to preserve the advantage of the wind, the French to gain it. La Bourdonnais, knowing his inferiority in weight of metal, and his superiority in men, had felt that his only chance of success lay in a hand to hand encounter, and his great object was to board. But the skill of Commodore Peyton, who divined his enemy's object, defeated this intention, and at half past four o'clock in the afternoon that officer had gained a position which enabled him to open fire at a safe distance on the French.

This distance was all in favour of the English. With their twenty-four pounders they inflicted great damage amongst the French ships, which these latter, with their eight and twelve pounders and musketry, were very partially able to repay. Three of their ships were disabled at the beginning of the action,—one indeed

\* Subjoined are the names of the vessels and their commanders :

*The Medway*, Commodore Peyton, 60 guns.

*The Preston*, Captain Lord Northesk, 50 guns.

*The Harwich*, Captain Carteret, 50 guns.

*The Winchester*, Captain Lord T. Bertie, 50 guns.

*The Medway's Prize*, Captain Griffith, 40 guns.

*The Lively*, Captain Stevens, 20 guns.

The total number of the crews amounted to 1660 men.

completely dismayed,—and had not *La Bourdonnais*, coming up with the *Achille*, the only ship of his squadron that carried its proper complement of heavy guns, drawn upon himself for half an hour the whole fire of the English, the squadron could not have escaped defeat. As it was, night separated the combatants before a decisive advantage had been gained on either side.

Day broke shewing the French squadron formed in line, the advantage of the wind still being, as on the previous day, with the English. It rested with the latter therefore whether the contest should be renewed. There were very many weighty reasons in favour of prompt and vigorous action. The English had had but sixty men killed and wounded\* the previous day, and one only of their ships had received any considerable damage from the enemy's fire; they were all ships of war; eight of the French ships were but imperfectly and lightly armed; the English fleet had been stationed off Negapatam to obstruct the advance of the French fleet; to abandon the field therefore was to leave Madras a prey to the enemy.

But in 1746, the English were not accustomed to regard the empire of the seas as their own. Some of those on board that squadron might easily have recollected the time when the English channel had been scoured for weeks, unopposed, by the victorious fleet of *de Tourville*,—the English fleet having sought refuge in the Thames.† Certain it is, that *Commodore Peyton* acted as English commodores of the time of the revolutionary war never would have thought of acting. Because one of his ships was leaky he deemed the attack too hazardous to be made. A council of war having confirmed this view, he made sail to the south, bound for *Trincomalee*, leaving the way open to *Pondichery*—deserting that Madras which he had been sent to protect.

If ‡ *La Bourdonnais* was relieved by the departure of his enemy, he did not shew it. On the contrary he made an appearance of pursuing the English. But it was only an appearance. He

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\* The English lost fourteen men killed and forty-six wounded: the French, twenty-seven killed and fifty-three wounded.

† After the battle off *Beachy Head*, 30th June, 1660.

‡ *La Bourdonnais* states in his memoirs that it was with extreme regret he saw the English escape him. He adds, that being without provisions and having on board a great number of sick and wounded, he was constrained to renounce their pursuit. In his letter to *Dupleix*, however, he says nothing about the disappearance of the English, but writes thus. 'The fear of missing *Pondichery*, the large amount of money for you on board, and, more than that, the scarcity of food, of which many ships had only four and twenty hours supply, made me contemplate the frightful situation in which I should be, if I were to fall to the leeward of the place; this determined me to bear up for *Pondichery*.'

must, in reality, have been greatly relieved by their sheering off. He had expended a great portion of his ammunition, he had provisions but for twenty-four hours longer. The disappearance of the English left him free to accomplish his object. His dismayed ship, the *Insulaire*, he ordered to Bengal to be repaired; then quickly collecting the remainder of his squadron, he resumed almost immediately his northerly course, and on the following evening cast anchor in the Pondichery roads.

One portion of his seemingly impossible task had thus been accomplished. Pondichery was safe, the French fleet mistress of the Indian seas, Madras uncovered. The positions of the contending rivals had been exactly reversed. It would now be for the French to threaten, for the English to sue for neutrality. What will be the result? Will the Nawab of the Carnatic, standing neutral between the contending parties, extend to the English the same protection he had accorded to their rivals? If not, it would seem as though their case were almost desperate. Abandoned by their fleet, with but three hundred Europeans within its walls, Madras presented far fewer means of defence than Pondichery. Governor Morse too was neither a Dumas nor a Dupleix. On the other hand, the French had at their head two masters, both men of genius, of energy, of ambition; the one a master in council, an adept at statecraft, skilled in all the wiles of a subtle policy, but himself unacquainted with war and its details: the other a man, great in action and prompt in council, accustomed to command, accustomed to see his will obeyed, to bear down every obstacle; but whether equally fitted to carry out the will of another, as yet unproved. The uncertainty in this respect formed the only cloud in the horizon of the fortunes of French India. Will the active genius, who has 'conquered 'the impossible,' who, by the sheer force of his will, has created the soldiers and the sailors, the ships and the guns, wherewith he has relieved Pondichery, will he now subordinate that will to the will of another man, his superior in position, but whom he has as yet only heard of as a successful trader? Up to the moment of casting anchor at Pondichery not a shadow of a contest had arisen. Hitherto each had acted independently of the other. The communications between the two Governors had been most friendly. 'The honour of success', wrote Dupleix in the early part of the year, 'will be yours, and I shall hold myself lucky in contributing thereto through means that owe their value entirely to your skill.' 'We ought,' wrote La Bourdonnais on his side, 'to

'regard one another as equally interested in the progress of events, and to work in concert. For my part, Sir, I devote myself to you beforehand, and I swear to you a perfect confidence.' But circumstances had altered. Success had now been attained; the two men were about for the first time to come in contact. Which of them was to take the lead? It was in the chance of some disagreement between those strong natures, both accustomed to command, that lay the best chance for Governor Morse and Madras.

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ART. VII.—*A Vindication of the Marquis of Dalhousie's Indian Administration. By Sir Charles Jackson. Smith Elder and Co., Cornhill. 1865.*

ON previous occasions this Review has come forward to discharge a duty to India in considering the principles and details of Lord Dalhousie's celebrated tenure of office. His pacification of the Punjab, his conquest of Pegu, his internal administration, have all been discussed and described, by more pens than one, both when his fame was at its zenith, and when it was unjustly and indiscriminately assailed during the not unnatural reaction caused by the mutiny. The timely appearance of Sir Charles Jackson's work again invites us to consider several salient points in a rule which all thinking men admit to have been, for good or evil, one of the most important in the splendid catalogue of Proconsular Histories. In many respects Sir Charles Jackson is excellently fitted for the task he has undertaken. He is an English lawyer and an English gentleman. He is not bound by the traditions of office, or by any of those class prejudices which are supposed to limit the view, or to distort the judgment, of men who have served the State with distinction in the Civil and Military Services. As a Judge he has been accustomed to weigh evidence, to reconcile conflicting statements, to analyse motives, to eschew extravagance of statement, and to present his matured conclusions, for the criticism of the public, in the seemly and dispassionate language of the Bench. As Advocate General, and as member, first of the Supreme, and then of the old Legislative Council, he has had good opportunities of gaining some insight into the actual working of our system of Government, and of fairly estimating the difficulties and trials under which the remarkable problem of the Government of hundreds of millions of Asiatics by one or two hundred thousands of Englishmen is enunciated and solved. He was a frank and earnest debater, a diligent advocate, and an upright and esteemed Judge. The work before us, is, consequently, an exemplification of all the sound qualities which its author displayed in his Indian career. There is no rhetorical appeal to the passions. There is no laboured exhibition of sentiment. Opponents are not denounced

in the language of extravagance. Lord Dalhousie is not worshipped in the language of adulation. The work, from beginning to end, is eminently impartial and fair. Evidence is quoted for every conclusion: original authorities are duly set forth; the flagrant errors of Lord Dalhousie's detractors are quietly exposed: a judicial severity of reprobation is exhibited towards some writers, who have denounced Lord Dalhousie as if he had been a Yorkshire horse-jockey or a London pick-pocket, and this vindication seems to us as complete and satisfactory as if it had been that of the author still seated on the Bench of the Supreme or the High Court, and delivering a judgment in a case of a disputed succession to a Mahomedan Principality or a Hindu Raj.

We do not intend to follow the practice which has so long received the sanction of unrivalled critics like Macaulay, and which is adopted by every writer who has views and opinions of his own. That is to say we do not mean to dismiss Sir Charles Jackson with a brief flourish of trumpets, and then to set up a fresh vindication of our own in which the author reviewed shall be quietly put on the shelf with his own law books. On the contrary, we invite the reader to go, in company with us, through the nine or ten chapters, in which every grave charge and every outburst of malice against the great Pro-consul is deliberately sifted and exposed. We shall deal, as Sir Charles Jackson has dealt with them, with annexations by lapse, and with annexations for misgovernment, with the claims of the Nagpore Ranees, and with the Raj of Tanjore, with the Inam Resumptions of Bombay, and with the monster of Bithoor.

The first subject which Sir Charles Jackson treats at length is entitled Annexation by lapse, and under this head he very properly groups together the acquisitions of Nagpore and of Sumbhulpore, of Sattara, and of Jhansi. Several writers, amongst whom we are very sorry to include such an historian as Mr. Kaye, have assailed Lord Dalhousie as the inventor of a new policy, that of lapse, which is said to be more dreaded by the natives than conquest or invasion; and which, not content with injuring a ruler in his lifetime, pursues him beyond the grave to the confines of another and a mysterious world. As a Lawyer accustomed to consider familiarly, in all its aspects, the well known Hindoo doctrine of adoption, Sir Charles Jackson doubts the existence of any such feeling of terror; and so do we. That only a son delivers his father from the hell known as that of *put*; that the existence of a son is deemed necessary to eternal salvation, and that a son by adoption is every whit as good, for these and other purposes, as a son born of the body, are all



well known Hindoo doctrines accepted in our Courts. But nothing that Lord Dalhousie ever said or wrote, in any way affected the value of mere acts of adoption as spiritual acts, tending to the good of the soul of the deceased. To deny the right to succeed to a Principality was surely not to deny the validity of the adoption itself. In several instances the right to succeed to the personal property and effects of the adopting father, and the status of adoption, were distinctly recognised. In the most striking example of these politic and just refusals, that of the Nana, we never for a moment understood Dhundhoo Punt was less considered the son of Baji Rao, because his preposterous and impudent claim to the pension of his adopting father was summarily rejected. But one of the most telling point, in Sir Charles Jackson's chapter on Lapses, is, that he shows clearly, what all well informed Indian readers knew before, that neither in the case of Nagpore nor in that of Sumbhulpore, was any adoption even proposed. The last Raja of Sumbhulpore, to our certain knowledge, had, further, in his lifetime expressly intimated his wish that, the British Government *should take possession of his principality, and should provide for his Ranees*. Several of the inhabitants of Nagpore, not unmindful of the beneficent administration of Sir Richard Jenkins, whom they still worship as Dunkin Sahab, actually came up in a body to Calcutta at the time of the late Raja's decease, and impatiently enquired when their country was to pass under the Company's rule. It is true that the Resident at Nagpore, Mr. C. G. Mansel, a man of undoubted ability but of extensive crotchets, while he graphically described the low habits and avaricious cruelty of the last ruler, did endeavour to persuade the Supreme Government to *re-produce* a ruler of the same cast of character in the person of a minor, a relation of the Raja on the female side. We use this expression deliberately, because Indian rulers may be broadly divided into two classes. There is the vigorous, despotic, and unscrupulous soldier who fights his way up to supremacy, maintains order in the provinces, quells disaffection amongst the soldiery, and puts down conspiracies in the Court. And there is the youth, who is born in the purple, whose character is made up of voluptuousness without elegance, and of cruelty which ensures him no respect, who insults ancient and venerable ministers, and whose sole companions are fidlers, courtesans, and buffoons. To which class the youth selected by the unkind philanthropy of the Resident would have belonged, we can have very little doubt. The justice of Lord Dalhousie's proceedings, failing adoption, being thus placed beyond question in the matter of both Nagpore and its dependency Sumbhulpore,

the only point left to consider is that of political expediency. Here we do not think that the Indian public has had any difficulty in coming to a conclusion. Neither by antiquity, lofty descent, or fidelity to the British Government, had the House of Nagpore any claims whatever to our consideration. As the cotton field of India, it was especially to be desired for the benefit of Manchester, if for nothing else. Its absorption extinguished another of the great Military Powers of the East. It joined Ossa on one side with Candeish on the other. It isolated the Nizam. It encouraged our trade while it consolidated our power. But we are not content with vindicating the strict justice as well as the wise policy of Lord Dalhousie in this respect. We may lawfully carry the war into the enemy's country, and ask how, with this undefinable dread of lapse, with this asserted preference for a native over an European administration, with grudges, as we are told, to requite, with insults as we are reminded, to avenge, and with independence to strike for, the vast territory of Nagpore remained in almost unbroken peace and quiet during the whole of 1857. If the arguments usually employed against Lord Dalhousie for his policy towards this great Maratta House have any foundation in fact, the Residency near Seetabuldee should have been another Lucknow. Lord Clyde or Sir Hugh Rose should have massed large bodies of troops, and planned vast campaigns, in the very heart of India : Mr. G. Plowden should never have kept open the telegraphic communication between Bombay and Calcutta ; and instead of tranquillity purchased by the exhibition of a six pounder or two, and the hanging of a mutineer, we should have had the well known scenes of slaughter and outrage followed by the bayonets of avenging Highlanders, and the broadswords of infuriated Dragoons. There is, unluckily for the vilifiers of Lord Dalhousie, something like proving too much ; and there is a well known French story of the dilemma created by arguments which tend to one direction, while all the ugly and inconvenient facts tend exactly to the other.

But the strangest doctrine which philanthropists, and even high minded, experienced, and practical administrators have constantly urged against annexation, is somewhat as follows. We are obliged to put the doctrine as we have collected it from various Minutes and desultory writings, but if it means anything, it means exactly what we are going to say. Intervening Principalities and independent States, it is gravely propounded, are really useful, because they draw off from our settled provinces the scum and dregs of the native population. They afford a scope for the talents of those ' turbulent spirits'

whom the peculiar, inconvenient, and straight-laced notions of our administrators would prevent from climbing to eminence in a province conducted on the purely British maxims of even-handed justice and incorruptibility. And, with their declining agriculture, their impeded commerce, and their occasional revolutions, they afford, by their contrast with the dead level of British uniformity and progress, a spectacle, which, to well wishers of the British Power, cannot be other than gratifying and instructive. A native State is, then, to be the *colluvies et sentina gentium*. A native ruler is to stand forth as the naughty boy, as the drunken Helot, who is to teach the good boy, brought up under British training, exactly what he ought *not* to do. For professed moralists this is really the most immoral and selfish doctrine we have ever heard !

There is another argument occasionally employed by the same class of reasoners to the effect that, 'natives prefer their own rulers to the British Government.' Now we are not going to propound a theory as extravagant in one sense as that we have been just condemning, and to assert that every phase and characteristic of our policy must charm the heart, while they subdue the reason, of all classes of natives. On the contrary, we have long admitted that there are many things which must shock and horrify others in the native community besides the Dacoit, the Thug, and the fraudulent and successful scoundrel, whose feelings or propensities no one need take into consideration. But, for all that, we are here in India to put down crime, to set justice against privilege, to teach all classes that merit and perseverance, and not favour and corruption, are the steps to eminence, to sap unintentionally the foundations of many an old superstition, to over-ride unreasonable prejudices when they stand in the way of real progress and reform. We must infuse into our actions as much tenderness and consideration as possible. We may feel certain that we are looked on with awe and reverence, but not with love. But we have no business in this country if we palter with our consciences, and if we do not set what we consider conducive to the moral and the material benefit of the greatest number, above all efforts at conciliation, and all attempts to uphold the exploded faith and the decaying privileges of particular classes and sects.

The cases of Sattara and Jhansi are not precisely identical with those of Nagpore and Sumbhulpore. The rulers of both these states did adopt sons in the persons of distant relatives. But Sir Charles Jackson shows conclusively from the records of Government, as well as from the writings of his opponents, that the law 'which requires the sanction of Government for

the adoption of a son, is applicable to all persons holding 'tenures under Government, such as Jagheerdars, Wuttundars and Inamdars, as well as dependent Princes.' The prevalence and validity of such a custom was broadly admitted by Sir George Clerk, the most distinguished supporter of the integrity of Native States. In 1835 and again in 1838, in the case of Jhansi, the Government of India, long before Lord Dalhousie's time, had deliberately refused to acknowledge the adoption made by a dying Raja. In 1841 the same course was followed with the petty state of Angria's Colaba, so called from the famous Pirate Tullagee Angria, and situated about twenty miles from the Harbour of Bombay. In 1843 this terrible doctrine of lapse was applied to the petty state of Mandavee, and sundry Jaghires, which, every one knows, are life tenures, were repeatedly escheated and were not re-created on the mere payment of a nuzzur. With regard to political expediency, there was every reason why a well known and thoroughly understood doctrine should be put in operation. The state of Jhansi with Jaloun had been frightfully mismanaged in the time of Lord Auckland. A former Raja of Sattara had been, by us, dethroned and exiled. The position of Sattara, separating Poona from Belgaum, was a source of confusion and weakness and not of strength. Viewed in every possible light, by the paramount claims of the misgoverned population, by the misconduct of their rulers, by their geographical position, or by the doctrines of pure legality and justice, the absorption of these four states will, we are confident, stand the impartial trial of history, when misrepresentation shall be no longer an object of party.

Sir Charles Jackson has thought it necessary to vindicate Lord Dalhousie's memory from an aspersion cast on it by Mr. Kaye, because the Governor-General had some doubts whether the little Rajpoot state of Kerowlie should not be annexed. We feel almost tempted to exclaim, that the vindication was needless.

*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis*

*Tempus eget;*

The history of this case is however amusing, as well as instructive, for those who have heard that Lord Dalhousie was ever ready, like any ogre, to swallow up every principality, great or small, of which the ruler demised without heirs male of the body! The Raja died in July 1852, and had proposed the adoption of a boy named Bhurt Pal, which proposal received the concurrence of the Agent, Col. Low. Lord Dalhousie, so far from being eager to enforce his favourite doctrine in the case of this principality, and to commence a career of annexation which would spare neither the sandy desert of Bikaneer, nor the

beautiful palaces of Ajmere, nor the unequalled traditions of Oodeypore, was the first to dwell on the comparative antiquity of Kerowlie, on the feelings of the Rajpoots, and on the impolicy of creating alarm in the minds of rulers of the still older and more powerful states. This is pretty well for a statesman who, we are now told, did not thoroughly understand 'the vital differences between the various races inhabiting the great Continent of India.' To our thinking, the extract from Lord Dalhousie's minute, quoted by Sir Charles Jackson and apparently ignored by Mr. Kaye, shows that Lord Dalhousie had a clear idea of the difference between a descendant of the robber Sevagee, and a representative of the blue blood of the Rajpoots, as he must have had of the distinction between a Selkirk Souter and a Highland cattle-lifter, or between the Macgregor and Baillie Nicol Jarvie. The sequel of this case is curious. Lord Dalhousie, admitting that, in this one instance, the argument preponderated in favour of lapse, but evidently not having set his heart on annexation, quietly referred the matter to the Court of Directors. Before the decision of the Court could reach India, another Agent had succeeded to Col. Low, and another claimant, Muddun Pal, had come forward to dispute the claim of Bhurt Pal. The Agent was the chivalrous and high-minded Sir Henry Lawrence, and he recommended that the claims of the adopted son should be disallowed, and that those of Muddun Pal should be recognised ! This was accordingly done, and the only *harm* produced by the delay of a reference to England, was, that the state obtained a rightful ruler instead of one, the validity of whose adoption, as Mr. Kaye admits, the people themselves doubted. On what authority Mr. Kaye sketches an alarming picture of the discontent and doubt which prevailed in the minds of this Rajpoot Princes while the case of Kerowile was under reference, we know not. At that very time, 1852-53, we were in a situation accurately to estimate the feelings and anxieties of every dependent, independent, or Tributary ruler in India, as far as they could be expounded by British Residents and Agents at their Courts, and we are in a position to declare confidently that no such serious alarm was ever felt in Marwar or Meywar. If, as Mr. Kaye writes, the Rajpoot Princes lost their confidence in the good faith of the British Government, they must have been as unreasonable as wayward children or silly old women. The spectacle of the British Government, calmly weighing the merits of two rival claimants, and then formally bestowing the principality on the claimant who was supported by the British Resident and favoured by the people, was a spectacle, we should think, calculated to

inspire hope and confidence and not to produce anxiety and alarm. But the best commentary on Lord Dalhousie's policy towards the descendants and representatives of the second caste in the old Hindu polity, is, simply, that Rajputana during the mutiny, was, with scarcely a break, as dull and uninteresting as one of its own sandy plains.

We now come to the claims of the notorious Nana, with which we shall be brief, inasmuch as of all the elements which have been employed to elaborate a theory, or to complete a picture, this introduction of the Nana fills us with the greatest amazement. Sir Charles Jackson, in a few weighty pages, shows that the pension allotted to Baji Rao by Sir John Malcolm, when he wished to end a harassing pursuit of his fugitive, was £80,000 a year: that this was a life grant and, that as such, it was understood both by Malcolm and by the ex-Peshwa himself, who in his lifetime, pressed upon Government the propriety of making a provision for his family: that on his death, the pension, like every other grant of the same kind, lapsed: that the adopted son, Dhondhoo Punt was permitted to succeed to accumulations, stated by himself at nearly thirty lacks of rupees, but believed by the authorities, as we know, to be more than half a million of our money: that he was allowed to enjoy, rent-free, the jagheer of Bithoor, and that he passed his life on his paternal estate, countenanced by the official and non-official community, and in the enjoyment of ample luxury and wealth. We do not say that any writer, and much less such an historian as Mr. Kaye, has had the audacity to assert that Lord Dalhousie's refusal to accede to the propositions and impudent claims of the Nana, is the slightest justification of the massacres of Cawnpore. Yet Mr. Arnold, of whom we expected better things, seems to think that the mere adoption of the Nana by the ex-Peshwa ought to have settled the question, and to have carried with it the right to burden the state with the payment of £80,000 for another life, or a series of lives. Most of the writers on the subject appear to be ignorant of the fact, that the rival claimant to the office and dignity of this Peshwa, had received, through the instrumentality of no less a person than the Duke of Wellington, an annual pension of £70,000, and had enjoyed this grant for no less than fifty years, or from 1803 to 1853. If the refusal of extravagant, ridiculous, or unfounded demands generates hatred and malevolence, and if these motives are to be considered justificatory of the most horrible crimes, we dare say that a good deal might be pleaded in favour of Constance Kent, Southey, the billiard marker, or any other notorious criminal. At any rate if the Nana's crimes and Lord Dalhousie's consistent, firm, and just policy are to be placed in juxtaposition without scarcely a word of reprobation for the former, and, in language which

seems calmly to contemplate natural cause and effect, we shall never despair of hearing that some day a writer has arisen who will first wash-white the Cawnpore butcher, dismiss him with a testimonial to his morals and excellence, and will then, emboldened by success, undertake the task of rehabilitating that awful name to which the great poet of Italy assigns, in the vision of Hell, a place between Brutus the proud and Cassius the envious, as they are crunched by the teeth of the avenger, in the sea of ice.

Mr. Kaye lays great stress on the next subject handled by Sir Charles Jackson, the resumption measures of the British Government, but he candidly admits that this "general system of depression" "had not its origin in the fertile brain of Lord Dalhousie." At the same time he fills the last of what he terms his introductory Book with a long account of the progress of Englishism, in which novel and comprehensive term are included the destruction of the native aristocracy, the retrospect of the Settlement of the North Western Provinces, the resumptions in Bengal and in the Punjab, the Inam commission in Bombay, and divers other topics. It is true that the dates of all these divers operations and the names of the chief actors, are all given by Mr. Kaye with praiseworthy accuracy, and that a student of Indian history, with ordinary diligence, is not likely to be misled. But, for the general reader, who only takes up the History of the Sepoy war as an attractive and powerfully written narrative of a terrible crisis, there is very considerable danger lest his permanent impression should be that, somehow, Lord Dalhousie is responsible for everything: for the specious but unsound system of the village communities in Hindostan, for the degradation of the native aristocracy, and for any temporary discontent in Lower Bengal. The simple truth is, that Lord Dalhousie had no more to do with the larger portion of the administrative measures which Mr. Kaye condemns, by the test of experience and the full light of History, than he had with the Perpetual Settlement itself. The settlement of the North West Provinces, minute, exhaustive, and as beautiful outwardly as a piece of mosaic, was complete before he ever reached the country. In Bengal he actually *stopped* the resumption measures by his fiat. He found the Board of Revenue annually inditing in their general report, a miserable paragraph about certain lingering resumptions which produced no sterling advantage to the Treasury, while they kept up, in the minds of the Bengalis, an irritating sore. At the hands of Lord Dalhousie these needless and unprofitable enquiries received their death blow. We are told, however, that the same system of depression was carried into the Punjab, and that there it "sorely disgusted some few of our more chivalrous English officers connected with the administration." Now, on

this, we have first broadly to remark that the Punjab has ever been regarded as Lord Dalhousie's most successful experiment in practical administration. We are not going to relate the details for the twelfth time, or to explain how rights were traced out and confirmed; how roads were laid out, how commerce revived, how agriculture flourished, and how the turbulent province became a valuable possession in peace, and the mainstay of a falling empire in the time of rebellion and of war. All we say is, that it is unfair to claim credit for the Punjab, as the province which saved the country in 1857, in one breath, and then in another to criticise some of the measures by which our rule was therein consolidated, as reflecting discredit on the statesman to whom they were due. The annexation and pacification of the Punjab must be taken as one consistent whole. Its value must be judged of by the event. It is impossible that, when a great reputation is on trial, the same vigorous, strong and enlightened administration should afford a plea for the prosecution, while it is, in reality, the very stronghold of the defence. As regards the resumption measures of the Punjab we have seen scores and scores of Reports on the subject; and it is sufficient to observe that enquiry was commenced into the titles of jageers and rent-free grants within three or four years after annexation. Many of the grants had been made to queer characters and low menials, or to men of professions and pursuits in no way entitled to respect. Several were confirmed in perpetuity, and many were continued for a period of one, two, and three lives: all the confiscated grants were usually settled with the occupants, and neither sullen discontent nor open indignation ever took possession of the minds of the Sirdars, or appeared in the Manjha.

The only point in which Sir Charles Jackson thinks it necessary to vindicate Lord Dalhousie in connection with Resumptions is, the Inam Commission of Bombay. The Law known as Act XI. of 1852, empowered the Government of Bombay to deal with invalid alienations of rent-free tenures throughout the Southern Mahratta country. When passed, it was doubtless worked with great vigour. It was, however, a 'mere supplement to previous legislation,' and it was more liberal and less oppressive than the older laws. No one was ejected from his lands, even when his title to hold them was found to be spurious and invalid, and an entirely new principle was adopted in the last enactment, which was utterly at variance with legal precedent in cases where lands are held, or claimed to be held, without payment of Revenue or rent. In all other Laws and in all other Indian provinces, the burden of proving his own immunity has been laid on the party claiming the same. In the Bombay presidency, by Laws passed in 1845 and in 1852, the burden was laid on the Government.



If, as Mr. Kaye tells us, three-fifths of thirty-five thousand estates were found in five years to be held without a good title; and if proofs of their invalidity were successfully adduced by the officials, all we can say is, that the spoliation of the Government Revenue and the immunity from taxation must have been effected under the greatest system of robbery which it ever entered into the head of Mahratta chieftains to conceive. The Government, in this view of the case, would have been guilty of gross injustice to the other taxpayers of India, had it shrunk from the enquiry. But whatever were the results, we do not see how Lord Dalhousie can be blamed for not withholding his assent to a law, milder and less oppressive in its tendency than preceding laws, and declared essential for the local administration by the Governor and the Revenue authorities of the Presidency which it concerned. Sir Charles Jackson winds up by reminding us, that in spite of a mutiny at Kolapore and the intrigues of the Nana's agents at Sattara, many districts to which this dreadful Act was extended, remained undisturbed by rebellion, while the Act had nothing to do with the subsequent outbreak in a portion of the country and with the disturbances in the foreign territory of Goa.

A great outcry was raised at one time about the spoliation of the Nagpore jewels, the sale of the private property of the late Raja, the tears of the Ranees, and the conduct of the Resident. Major Bell talks as if Lord Dalhousie had intended to appropriate the state property absolutely, without giving the Ranees any relief. Even Mr. Kaye condescends to write about 'the gain of money.' Sir Charles Jackson quietly shows that out of the proceeds of the sale a large fund was formed for the benefit of the Bhonsla family. The Queen mother received the annual sum of 12000 £, or about that which Parliament allots to Royal dukes, the brothers of a reigning monarch. The five widows of the Rajah got yearly 13500£ amongst them, which is not a bad allowance for women who in native times would have been politely requested to burn themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands. A liberal provision of 78,700 £ was set apart for other connections and dependants of the Raja, and Mr. Temple's late Reports tell us that the sum of 98,000 £ or little less than ten lacks of rupees, is still appropriated to the members of the family, their dependants and relations. The family, besides, was allowed to live on an estate, producing 5000 £ a year, free from payment of revenue. We do not understand the charge made after the above facts, which were equally open to the knowledge and criticism of other writers besides the Indian Ex-judge. Surely it is not contended that the Ranees had a right to a pension over and above the state Jewels, the elephants, the horses, and the bullocks, which,

by every precedent of international law, became the property of the Paramount Power.

We shall now deal with two Potentates who could certainly have had very little influence in either provoking or quieting a rebellion in Upper India, whose position entitles them to the strictest justice and impartiality. We mean the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Raja of Tanjore. The Nawab of the Carnatic was one of these mischievous shams of royalty, who had no territory and no residence out of the Presidency, and nothing whatever to remind the population of lofty rank, except his immunity from legal process and his exemption from arrest for debt. The question which came before Lord Harris and Lord Dalhousie was, simply, whether on the death of the late Nawab in 1855, his uncle prince Azim Jah had any right to succeed him. Mr. Kaye most properly dismisses both questions without any imputation on Lord Dalhousie, adding that empty titular dignities are dangerous possessions, and it may be, after all, only mistaken kindness to perpetuate them when the substance of royalty is gone. But other writers, it seems, not so well informed, and eager at all risks to blacken a noble reputation, have dealt with the refusal to perpetuate the title of Nawab of the Carnatic as if it were a deliberate crime, destined to afford to the world a further proof that Lord Dalhousie wished to reduce all the native aristocracy to a dead level of obscurity and penury. There were two points, Sir Charles Jackson clearly shows, which arose for consideration. First, had prince Azim any right to the title? Secondly, if he had no right, was it expedient and politic to recognise him? We have not space enough for a recital of the extracts of treaties and of the arguments by which our author disposes of the question of right. Those who will refer to page 82 and following will find it clearly shown, that in 1801 the title of the Nawab of the Carnatic were forfeited to Government by the treachery and hostility of the occupant, and that a new arrangement was then concluded. Lord Harris, whose remarks on the subject of the recognition were adopted by the Governor General, Lord Dalhousie's, and the Court of Directors were unanimously of opinion that the new arrangement entered into by Lord Wellesley, conferred no right of hereditary succession. And Sir Charles Jackson, after minute inspection of the context, and interpreting the whole deed in the spirit of a Judge, comes to the distinct conclusion that the new treaty was simply personal to the claimant, and that all subsequent recognitions had been made out of motives of consideration for the claimant of the day. It is also indisputable that on the death of the

Nawab in 1829, his son acknowledged the grant of the title in his behalf in language implying the reception of a great favour rather than the recognition of his rights. On the question of policy, in the absence of right, there cannot, we think, be two opinions. If by the maintenance of native aristocracy be meant the maintenance of a set of puppets, without territory to govern, without occupation to employ their minds, who consort with pimps, who cheat and baffle their creditors, and who may at any time, be the nucleus of sedition, while at all times they present a very degrading example to the European and the native population, all we can say is, that the less such an aristocracy is maintained, the better for the credit of England and for the well being of India. This miserable exhibition of spurious philanthropy is one which can only be dealt with by the pen of Carlyle. The whole subject is admirably fitted for a page of Carlylese, where the Mud Demons would be on one side, and the Eternal Veracities on the other. We may dismiss this potentate with the additional remark that the Government liberally provided for the family of the Nawab, and paid the debts contracted by him as well as by Prince Azim Jah, to the pleasant amount of 420,000£.

The case of the Tanjore Raj is much more simple than that of the Nawab of the Carnatic. The sole connection of Lord Dalhousie with the matter is that he recommended, just before his departure, that the Raj should be extinguished, inasmuch as the last occupant of the titular dignity had died without heir natural or adopted, and as, according to all Hindoo Law and precedent, the daughter could never be permitted to succeed. All subsequent proceedings took place after Lord Dalhousie had quitted India. The confiscation of the Jagheer, the assumption of the charge of the property, real and personal, the claim instituted by the widow in the late Supreme Court of Madras, the decision of that learned body, which displayed an extraordinary ignorance of the first Principles of international Law, its quiet reversal by the Privy Council, were all matters which took place in the administration of Lord Canning, or even later. The pregnant summing up of the case set up against Lord Dalhousie on this monstrous charge, we shall give in Sir Charles Jackson's own words. "It thus appears that Lord Dalhousie had nothing to do with the seizure of this property: that the lands were never confiscated: that the personalty was not confiscated, but only such part of it was taken as appeared to appertain to the Raj, and that the assertion (Mr. E. Arnold's) that Lord Dalhousie resorted to a technicality of the Law Courts to deprive the Ranees of her crown and treasure, is perfectly unfounded, inasmuch as he had left India long before the suit was instituted, in which that defence was relied on."

The subject of the annexation of Oude is obviously a much larger question. It has been freely discussed in Parliament. It has been largely canvassed by the English Press. Several of the events antecedent to the final annexation have become matter for well-known history. There is probably, even amidst the universal ignorance prevalent in England on Indian topics, scarcely a forward schoolboy who could not, at a competitive examination, write a page or two of flowery paragraphs as to the tyranny of the ruler, the anarchy of the provinces, and the cruel wrongs of the people. But the whole question, after all, comes to this. Was the annexation to be justified by the condition of the province and by our peculiar position with regard to the sovereign whom we had created? We freely admit that this is no case where we can talk of rights by conquest or rights by lapse, of quarrelsome neighbours or of a vast and menacing native army, ready at any time, like the Sikhs in 1845, to invade and to overcome our provinces. The only line of argument by which the assumption of the Government and of its Revenues can be justified, is simply that the administration of Oude had, for fifty years, been a positive disgrace and a discredit, not only to the cruel or voluptuous tyrants who reigned at Lucknow, but to each succeeding Governor-General, who was by Treaty bound to see that the King of Oude should establish 'in his reserved dominions, such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects and be calculated to save the lives and property of the inhabitants.' [Treaty of 1801.] If moral obligations are not shams, if solemn and deliberate language means anything, if distinct violations of promises are to entail consequences, if repeated warnings and threats justify action, and if all these combined are to be found in the case of Oude, the annexation of that unhappy, crushed, and misgoverned country, is an act which can be amply justified in the sight of God and man. That natives may have conceived a bad impression from the measure, as Mr. Kaye says; that, in the mutiny, Oude became one of the earliest scenes of anarchy: that the effect of our transient occupation was effaced, and that the reconquest of the country cost us something like two expensive campaigns, are all matters of fact which, do not, in our opinion, in the least detract from the necessity and the justice of our permanent occupation of the country. It seems to us unnecessary to go minutely, as Sir Charles Jackson has done, into the various schemes proposed by Lord Dalhousie for the consideration of his Council and of the Government at home, as to the best way of effecting the object. Whether we rest our defence on the great minute of

the Governor-General, or on the luminous reasoning of Sir J. P. Grant, or on the accurate and lawyer-like logic of Sir B. Peacock, or on the reluctant and enforced, but ample, concessions of General Low, the conclusion is exactly the same. The native cannot well understand that we can have the least business to interfere with the divine right of an Eastern ruler to deal with his subjects, as a mischievous boy deals with butterflies or cockchafers. But in the eyes of the British statesman, the condition of Oude, which pen can scarcely describe, and which tongue has never palliated, as well as the obligations of plighted faith and unchanging justice, imperatively demanded the termination of a half century of misrule to which the condition of Sicily under Verres would scarcely afford a true parallel. One of the strongest points in the Oude case which many writers have entirely ignored, but to which Mr Kaye in page 147 does render substantial justice, is, that Lord Dalhousie, so far from showing any undue and eager rapacity to add one more kingdom to the list of his conquests, undertook the task from sheer motives of duty. He was well aware that the measure would 'bring him no credit,' and that, to Members of Parliament who had a hazy recollection of the splendid eloquence which in the last century had been lavished on the Princesses of Oude, any mention of that kingdom would afford a ready handle for criticism and attack. Sated with success, enabled to point with pardonable triumph to a long series of social measures which would have added lustre to the name of Bentinck, and distinguished in his foreign policy by a series of bold and vigorous strokes that would have been worthy of a Wellesley, he might most plausibly have declined the task, from which so many of his predecessors had turned aside, and have left a heavy responsibility to his successor and college friend. But this, as Sir Charles Jackson pointedly remarks, and as Mr. Kaye honorably admits, he was the very last man to do. Again, we constantly hear the annexation of Oude quoted as the crowning act of an aggressive administration, by men who entirely forget that there never was a measure in the whole course of our Indian History, from Warren Hastings to Sir John Lawrence, to which the deliberate consent and approval of the highest authorities in England was more calmly conceded. This dilemma is sometimes evaded by saying, that, after all, Lord Dalhousie first moved the vexed question, was the first to propose no less than four different modes of dealing with the sovereign, and must therefore be saddled with the whole merits or demerits of the Act. But this is surely a most unfair way of shifting responsibility. The Court of Directors exhausted

their skill in producing an elaborate despatch. The Board of Control had previously consented to the Annexation. And the Cabinet of Lord Aberdeen, before the despatch left Leadenhall-street, had committed itself to the measure as one essential to the credit of the English name. It is absurd to suppose that these great potentates, the Court, the President of the Board, and the Members of a Cabinet which numbered such men as Mr. Gladstone and Lord Canning in its ranks, endorsed Lord Dalhousie's proposals, without due advertence to their magnitude, in the same way as they would have endorsed a request for a new sort of fire-arm. By adopting such arguments it would be easy to lay the whole of the American war on the shoulders of Lord Stratford De Redcliffe, or to blame Lord Lyons for the vulnerable points in our relations with the United States. But the truth is that if the measure is open to the charges of rapacity, disregard of rights, or obvious impolicy, the odour of such charges must rest, not on the head of the unselfish Governor General, but on men of high rank and unblemished character, in England, some of whom are gone to their graves with honor, while others still live to command the applause of senates, to secure the suffrages of the country, and to be the ornaments of a Court. Sir Charles Jackson may most truly say that Lord Dalhousie's 'part in the transaction was the 'last sacrifice which he made on the altar of duty.' We are all adepts in that wisdom which is gained after the event. And we may well ask whether any thoughtful person supposes that if it had not undergone annexation, Oude would have played any very different part in the mutiny. Is it likely that the worn-out and debauched ruler would have controlled, for one hour, the elements of anarchy which were fermenting in the province? Should we not still have had a Resident at Lucknow, as well as British officers and their families all liable to a siege? Would Oude, in short, not annexed, have been, in all human probability, a source of confidence or a source of dismay? We make no doubt that one of Lord Canning's earliest acts in 1858, had the course of events in 1855 and 1856 run differently, would have been to incorporate Oude with the British dominions. In this case, perhaps it will be said that policy and justice would have been found united, whereas the course taken by Lord Dalhousie was marked by immediate injustice to the king, and by eventual difficulties in the hour of trial. Our simple answer to these accusations has been given above. The annexation of Oude did not produce the mutiny, but it was the mutiny that led to rebellion and anarchy in Oude. The justice of the measure, apart from its wisdom and expediency, must rest solely on our

obligation to take care that the terms of a solemn treaty should not be deliberately evaded for another period of fifty years. And all men, whether they think the measure just but impolitic, or unjust and impolitic both, must, in common honesty, hold the British Cabinet responsible for the same.

We have now gone through all the charges save one, from which Sir Charles Jackson has thought it necessary and just to clear the memory of Lord Dalhousie. But this charge is of a very different character to the rest. When the mutiny first broke out, it was most natural that the indignant British Public should seek for a scapegoat, and, when amongst other accusations, charges of blindness, of want of foresight, and of inadequate military preparations, were brought against the statesman who lay at his country seat, bowed down by sickness and toil, even Lord Dalhousie's staunchest friends were occasionally at a loss to meet the roaring torrent of abuse, which was poured forth on his policy. Sir Charles Jackson has now brought to light a startling fact which fully exonerates the deceased nobleman from any such remissness, and which will be read, for the first time, by many of his adherents, with unfeigned pleasure and delight. So far was he from being blinded by his uninterrupted good fortune, or from neglecting one obvious source of peril against which good laws and vigorous measures would have been powerless, that on the last day on which he presided at the Council Board in Government House, he laid before his colleagues no less than nine minutes in which his views on military affairs were propounded with that perspicuity and fullness which have characterised all his State papers. Two of these valuable documents, after repeated search, are not to be found in England, although it seems to us scarcely possible that copies should not be forthcoming, in either the Military or the Foreign Office at Calcutta. It appears however from the seven minutes which are forthcoming, as well from allusions in them to the missing minutes, that almost every proposal for the native army, of which the wisdom has been driven into the heads of the authorities by the lessons of the mutiny, had been in some shape or other anticipated. We subjoin a brief summary from the pages of Sir Charles Jackson. Four native cavalry regiments were to have been disbanded, and two European regiments raised by the Company, on the same principle as those well known foot regiments, the Company's Europeans. The Royal troops were to be increased by four, and, if possible, by six additional Battalions. The invalids at Chunar were to be moved to some other place where they could add to the military strength of the Government. The European companies of artillery were to be augmented. Four native regiments were to

be altogether disbanded, and the Sepoys in the remaining seventy-two regiments were to be *reduced* from 1000 to 800 bayonets. Three Ghoorka regiments were to be raised, in addition to four irregular regiments. There were, as we have seen proposals for disbanding, four regiments of regular cavalry, for reducing the remaining six regiments from 420 to 300 troopers, for giving each regiment two additional Lieutenants, so as to supply the vacancies caused by officers on Staff employ, and for separating the Commissariat from the regimental staff of the army. These recommendations were made by a ruler in a time of profound peace, in the full tide of success, at the zenith of his political triumphs. Read by the lurid light of the mutiny they seem literally instinct with prophetic warning. There is not one of them which would not have vastly added to our means, or diminished our difficulties, in 1857 or 1858. With whom rests the terrible responsibility of neglecting these just and wise changes, we know not, nor, perhaps, will it ever be known until our sons and grandsons have access to the secret documents, which, in conscious innocence and excuse to pride, their lamented author has sealed for half a century. The words were however committed to paper. The hand which had commemorated the happy victories of peace, the Railway, the Telegraph, the humanising Laws, the cheap postage, the extensive roads, the great water works, the abolition of cruel rites, the spread of education, and the liberty of conscience, had also, when it pointed to the physical condition of the Sepoy as 'hardly susceptible of improvement,' warned us of the little cloud no bigger than a man's hand, which might suddenly gather and burst, to spread desolation over the whole plain. *Ille tanquam cycnea fuit divini hominis vox et oratio.*

And now having gone carefully through all the charges which the author of this excellent volume before us has concentrated into one focus, and has then, as we venture to think, entirely dispersed, we may ask the consideration of our readers for a few pages further, to the general scope and tendency of Lord Dalhousie's rule; and in this we shall appeal from the enlightened and conscientious Judge to the intelligent and impartial Jury: from the opinion of Sir Charles Jackson, to that of the majority of official and unofficial Englishmen, who either personally remember the famous eight years administration, or are in a position to judge fairly of its general tendency and results. It is our deliberate opinion, though we speak under correction, that in spite of abuse and misrepresentation, in spite of all the recollections of the mutiny, the memory of Lord Dalhousie is still held in high esteem and reverence not only by most members of the Civil and Military Services, but by the merchant, the planter,



and the Missionary, and by the foremost and ablest conductors of the Press. After all, men on the spot are the most competent to pass a judgment on the merits of Lord Dalhousie, and on the connection, immediate or remote, of any of his measures with the universal rebellion of the Sepoy, and the partial anarchy of the people. It strikes us that we have read many articles in the London *Spectator*, in the *Friend of India*, and in the *Calcutta Englishman*, as well as in other papers, which evince no lack of faith in the wisdom of Lord Dalhousie: which show that the writers are possessed with an abiding sense of his rare merits as a reforming ruler, and of his special fitness to sway the sceptre of empire, and to control the heterogeneous elements of which a vast oriental people is composed.

On the other hand, we would ask what is the class of writers which takes a pleasure in defaming the memory of one of the most unselfish and able rulers ever sent out by England, to shorten the term of his natural existence by excessive hard work in the service of the State? On the outbreak of the mutiny it was very natural that the majority of the middle and upper classes should, for a brief time, lay the whole blame of the mutiny on the shoulders of the late Governor-General. Englishmen in a crisis are often a mere mob. Some men, too, had been tired with perpetually hearing Aristides called the Just. Then arose one class of conscientious but wrong headed writers; and another class which from disappointed ambition, petty malice, or their love of notoriety, enjoyed the miserable gratification of blackening the character of a great statesman, whose mere frown in his lifetime would have scared them out of their senses. There are too some men who seem well aware that they have lost one grand chance of immortality by not living when the Dunciad was written, and to whom the next best chance of publicity lies in their ejecting their venom on such names as Wellesley and Dalhousie, and thus going down to posterity linked with something of grandeur and nobility. A writer such as Mr. Arnold is of course not to be placed exactly in the above category, but even he has been convicted of several grave material errors by the far greater accuracy of Sir Charles Jackson's research. As for Major Evans Bell we think that the violence of the language which he has permitted himself to use in his *Empire of India*, to say nothing of its want of good foundation, is simply discreditable to him as an officer bearing her Majesty's Commission. The smaller fry, native and English, we may leave as beneath our notice.

But a great distinction must be made, not only between Mr. Kaye and the horde of vulgar writers alluded to above, but between Mr. Kaye and such a writer as Mr. Arnold. Mr.

Kaye is far too conscious of the worth and dignity of his position in the republic of letters, as well as of the respect due to his official position, to reiterate mere vulgar and shallow abuse. He does full justice in his interesting pages to Lord Dalhousie's energy, to his determination, to the honesty and conscientiousness of his motives, to his administrative capacity, and to his rare power of selecting his instruments, and infusing into them a large portion of his own talent and resources. In some portions of his character of Lord Dalhousie the lineaments are familiar to us, and the colours are life-like and true. But, as partly shewn above, we think that Mr. Kaye from an excessive admiration for Lord Canuing, and from a desire to establish his own theory of the causes of the mutiny, has meted out to Lord Dalhousie far less than was his due, and has brought against him charges not fully supported by the evidence.

There may, however, be a reasonable class of men who, while acquitting Lord Dalhousie of the absurd and unjust charges dissipated by Sir Charles Jackson, may yet be of opinion that there is some point in Mr. Kaye's main argument, that because we were too English, the great crisis arose; and that 'Lord Dalhousie's Government was strong in every thing, but its conformity to the genius of the people.' This is no doubt a very plausible theory, but it will lead Mr. Kaye into very dangerous and slippery ground. Most of the internal measures which Lord Dalhousie, his immediate predecessor, and his three successors have devised for the good of the people, are especially English in their character. They would never have originated with the best and wisest of oriental rulers. They are subversive of the sluggish uniformity of the Hindoo religion, opposed to the intolerable pride and self-sufficiency of the Mussulman, and utterly foreign to the habits and temper of the whole people. The steamship and the railway, the lightning post, the spread of education, the re-marriage of Hindoo widows, the instruction of Hindoo ladies of rank and respectability, the Act which abolished forfeiture of civil rights on change of religion, the better discipline enforced in our Jails, the approximation of the ends of the empire by roads and intercourse, and a score of other measures, are all things which, in some tender point or other, must have offended prejudice, and aroused secret hostility. But is Mr. Kaye prepared to carry out his re-capitulation of these measures to their logical consequence, and to affirm that it was our duty to have discountenanced them? That we ought to have introduced them more slowly, under protest, as it were, and with repeated apologies for the liberties we were taking

with the secular and religious policy of three thousand years? Unless this be so, our course since the mutiny has been still more unwise, still more perilous to our ascendancy, and still more likely than before to bring on a rebellion of the whole population. Since the Queen's accession we are more English than ever, while the obstinacy of the priesthood, the prejudices of revered and ancient officials, and the general obstructiveness of all classes, have received far more deadly and constant shocks than ever they did in the years from 1848 to 1856.

We are quite ready to concede that Lord Dalhousie's administration, excellent as we believe it to have been, was occasionally a sore trial to particular classes in particular points. Its strongest characteristics were those of expansive energy and far-reaching vigor. The Governor General worked, as the great satirist of Rome said of her greatest orator in the Catiline conspiracy, *in omni gente*; and this power of work, this insatiable devotion to the service of the State, was communicated through the immediate Secretaries and subordinates, to almost every official interested in the development of his policy in remote provinces of the empire. We can have no doubt that no laws or regulations were dead letters; that searching clauses were put into rigid and literal execution; that good administrative measures were worked at full power: that if there was a nest of prejudices it was routed out: that if there was a tender place in the body it was not always gently treated with a salve. These appear to us slight faults from which such vigorous administrations cannot hope to be exempt. In the meantime the mass feels that it is being ruled and controlled by a skilful and strong hand; and that an oriental mass should feel and believe in their ruler is, we hold, in itself a proof of wise and effective government. If individuals, or even whole classes are occasionally aggrieved by the completeness with which new measures are applied and enforced, and by the want of consideration for venerable prejudices, we may regret, but cannot always stop to remedy the partial evil. We deliberately give a preference to an exhaustive, vigorous, active, just and progressive administration over one in which so many interests are to be consulted, so many difficulties are to be smoothed over, and the assent of so many inert anti-reformers is to be gradually procured, that either good measures are emasculated, or the time for action wholly passes away.

The one great political blunder of Lord Dalhousie's administration, his second Burmese war, seems now to be entirely forgotten, or only to be remembered as a positive set-off to what some writers are pleased to call his misdeeds. Burmah is now

an integral part of the Empire, quiet, excellently ruled, increasing in prosperity, and contributing a sum beyond its own expenses to the Government Treasury. British Burmah makes our sea board complete. It sent us the first effective aid in the hour of the mutiny. We can therefore only hope that the words of Lord Dalhousie were instinct with prophecy, when he told the audacious Envoy in the hall of Government House, that the British flag would wave over the plains of the Irrawaddy as long as the sun and moon should shine in heaven.

But this must not blind us to the extreme impolicy of the actual measure which brought on the easy campaign and conquest. We had, no doubt, a great cause of complaint against the Burmese authorities, but it is quite certain that we then wanted neither more territory nor a fresh war. The Burmese authorities are ceremonious, attached to forms, and punctilious to absurdity. We should have thought that the best way of dealing with such a tiresome set of officials would have been to depute some officer well versed in their language and ceremonial, polite and punctilious himself, and at the same time a complete master of the various subterfuges to which ministers and governors would resort. Such a man was literally ready made in Col. Phayre, to say nothing of Colonel Bogle, Colonel Fyche, and others. Instead of a Politician, versed in oriental diplomacy, studious not to offend, and yet quite capable of sustaining the dignity and honor of his country, we send down a gallant British tar in the shape of Commodore Lambert, who had every possible motive to bring on a war as fast as he could, and whose first act, the seizure of the kings' ship, undeniably put us in the wrong, and ended the attempts at negotiation. From the first they were little else than mere shams. That Lord Dalhousie's usual prudence and foresight were here considerably at fault, we think any one who will read the Burmese Blue Books must admit. If he had wished to avoid a war he should have left Captain Lambert's guns and flags near the waters of the Hooghly. If he deliberately wished to bring one on, which we know for certain that he did not, he could have chosen no better means than to entrust a negotiation with the most fastidious of Asiatic Durbars to the rough hands and loud voices of Trunnion, Hatchway, and Pipes. We are bound to say that the gallant Commodore acted exactly as one of Smollet's heroes would have done in the same place, and admirably justified his selection.

But the real test of Lord Dalhousie's administration can be applied only by those candid and fairly informed persons who know and admit that the seeds of the Sepoy mutiny were sown broadcast years before, when in the administration of

Lord Auckland a fine army became demoralized and perished in the defiles of Afghanistan, after an expedition, of which it is difficult to say whether the impolicy or the injustice were the greater. The same candid persons will also give their due weight to all the rumours which arose in the Crimea, and found many glad recipients in the Mahommedan Bazaars and Councils of India. When this is conceded, then all that can fairly be pleaded against Lord Dalhousie is, that he ruled India precisely at a period when the old system was passing away, and when we were just entering on that state of transition which seems destined to be distinguished by such marvellous results. According to his clear and vigorous policy he did his utmost, as events rose rapidly before him, to consolidate and to strengthen the huge, ill-pieced, and discordant empire. He first gave a geographical and physical union to the British provinces, and he then proceeded to lay the foundation of that uniformity and strength which is produced by humanising laws, by rapid communication, and by interchange of thought. Amongst British rulers he filled the place which, in the Mogul dynasty, had been filled three centuries before by Akbar. If any of his measures unconsciously helped on the outburst of that mutiny which, with the existence of a vast native army, was inevitable, they at the same time placed in the hands of Englishmen the means of extinguishing the flames, or the weapons of resistance. We believe that the mutiny was a simple question of time and opportunity. The policy of Lord Dalhousie, if it gave an impulse in one direction, did at the same time arm the authorities with the means of restraint and check, when they knew how to use them.

But the security to the empire did not consist in measures alone. It is the characteristic of remarkable men in high place to found a school of their order of politicians. There had been the school of Wellesley in which Metcalfe was nurtured, and again there are men alive till lately who boasted themselves to be of the Metcalfe School. The School of Malcolm was well known in Central India. There had been even men of the school of Lord William Bentinck. But Lord Canning, with all his noble qualities, his constancy, his calmness, his fortitude, his magnanimity in forgiveness, has bequeathed his name and his policy to no disciples. Men of Lord Dalhousie's school, conscientious, able, hard working, proud of his teaching, conscious of the purity of his motives, and indignant at the shameful aspersions cast on their great Chieftain, are now filling divers posts of responsibility and emolument in various parts of the Empire. From the present Viceroy to the Commissioner, there is not one of them, we will venture to say, who does not ask himself in a difficulty

how Lord Dalhousie would have acted, and who is not constantly supported in the heat and wearing drudgery of business by the recollection of his lofty example. We must here remark that the most startling announcement in the whole of Mr. Kaye's book, is the announcement that Lord Dalhousie wanted imagination. It has, however, not escaped comment at the hands of public writers both here and at home. A man who was loyally served and who was obeyed like a prophet, must have been gifted with some singular power of fascination, and with that kind of mind which is ever looking to the future and to the past. If Lord Dalhousie could write those marvellous state papers, could select the best instruments for his purposes, could, without craving for popularity or for personal adherents, impress on them his own spirit, if he could map all India into provinces with their complete system of Railways, if he could anticipate the defenceless position of our empire, and could do all this without any imagination, he must have presented a strange physiological puzzle. Our own opinion is, that he had precisely that gift of vigorous but regulated imagination, of which Lord Canning was almost devoid. At any rate it is undeniable that he did look to the future, and that he did found a school, and that men of the school which he founded, mainly saved the empire in 1857.

It would be easy to pursue this topic much farther, to take up other petty charges against Lord Dalhousie with the mere object of exposing their fallacy, and to call to mind the various occasions on which he interposed his influence to protect and strengthen native rulers and native states. Gwalior, Bhurtpore, Cashmere, Bahawalpore, and many petty states in India are indebted to him for wise counsel, unselfish protection, and generous aid. We think this the place to notice one astounding statement made in the House of Commons, but denied by a near connection of Lord Dalhousie, to the effect that the Governor General was in the habit of insulting Native Princes, and that he told the Nizam that 'he was no better than the dust under his feet.' It is true that the authority for this statement is that of an anonymous writer in the *Quarterly*, and that perhaps it hardly merits serious discussion. The truth is that there never was a Governor so studious of forms in intercourse with Native Princes, or one less likely to insult them by language or act. To our knowledge Lord Dalhousie never interchanged any visits with the Nizam or went near his capital, and when, for what reason, or by whom, the words were transmitted to the Ruler of Hyderabad, we are not told. We may safely dismiss the story as a pure fiction, which no one in India ever heard

of. On other occasions, when Lord Dalhousie met the Sirdars of the Punjab, when he allowed Gholab Sing to lay hold of the skirts of his garment, when he took off his hat in the Taj at Agra, when he uttered the memorable reply to the Burmese Envoy at Calcutta; he was, in dignity, in gesture, in voice, and in language, every thing that the representative of a mighty empire ought to be. We should as soon believe that Lord Granville had abused a French ambassador, as that Lord Dalhousie was ever guilty of wanton insult or marked discourtesy to a native gentleman or prince. Sir Charles Jackson testifies to his own experience of instances when Lord Dalhousie was indignant at acts of oppression and torture, and when he was anxious to protect the native population from such acts. All who knew Lord Dalhousie personally will concur in this testimony. In holding the balance between European and native interests he was eminently just, and, with several men still in India, we can well recollect the cloud on his brow, as marked as the horse-shoe frown of Redgauntlet, when he was suddenly informed of instances of official tyranny, grave insubordination, abuse of power, outrages against justice, or evasions of law.

We have now inadequately discharged, but to the best of our ability, a duty which, though mainly due to the memory of Lord Dalhousie, is one which in a measure concerns the reputation of all eminent Englishmen filling high posts of responsibility and power, either now or hereafter. Writers seem to forget that Lord Dalhousie's policy was dictated by desire, not for selfish aggrandisement, but for the welfare and greatness of England; and Englishmen employed by the State, may perhaps pause and reflect that, when they are exhausting their energies and spending their life-blood in the service of their country, it will remain for essayists with fast pens and reckless imaginations to write them down, after their death, as 'brigands distributing spoils,' and as 'the worst and basest of rulers.' (Arnold p. 199 and Bell p. 26.)

A more pleasing task it is to us briefly to indicate what we think will be the ultimate verdict to be passed on Lord Dalhousie's administration by some writer, who will treat the subject with far greater stores of knowledge at his disposal, and with a degree of calmness and impartiality which in the present generation seems unattainable, except to men of singularly unbiassed temperament and of rare qualifications. Assuredly a time must come, when the petty aggressions of malice, the rancour of ignorance, the miserable desire for notoriety, and the sullenness arising out of ungratified ambition, will be consigned

for ever to their congenial darkness. A time will come, when the private papers of the great Pro-Consul will disclose all his secret motives for his political acts, and will shed a vivid light on the series of his long and interesting public documents. With that time there will unquestionably arise some gifted writer, who will do ample justice to the celebrated rule of eight years, who will enrol Lord Dalhousie in the catalogue of men who have added to the political stature of England, and who will deliver the sober, lasting, and unassailable verdict of History. He will, we think, tell our grandchildren of a rare capacity for controversy, command, and empire; of a clear and a consistent policy; of noble thoughts, and lofty motives; of a sincere love of law and justice; and of a character, which, if marked by some errors of judgment, stands out in the main as vigorous, unselfish, and true. And slightly altering the noble and memorable language in which Lord Macaulay has enshrined the memory of the first Pitt, he will say that History, while for the warning of vehement, high, and daring natures, she notes the many errors of Indian administrators, will yet deliberately pronounce, that of all the eminent men who have borne the sceptre of that magnificent dependency, scarce one has left a more stainless, and none, a more splendid name.

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ART. VIII.—1. *Our Tropical Possessions in Malayan India being a descriptive account of Singapore, Penang, Province Wellesley, and Malacca; their Peoples, Products, Commerce, and Government.* By John Cameron, Esq., F.R. G. S., London, Smith Elder and Co., 1865.

2. *Adventures among The Dyaks of Borneo.* By Frederick Boyle, F. R. G. S., London, Hurst and Blackett, 1865.

WHEN we give the titles of these two works we name two very readable volumes, appearing at about the same time, and possessing some features in common. The one first named makes its appearance very opportunely, being at a time when the questions of the transfer of the Straits Settlements from the Indian to the Colonial Departments of the administration at home is under consideration, and just at the moment when the encroachments of the Dutch in Sumatra have again become a subject of official correspondence.

'Our Tropical possessions in Malayan India' is from the pen of a gentleman long resident in Singapore, and Editor of the principal journal published in the Settlements, a man thoroughly competent to deal with the subjects introduced, and perhaps better versed in many of the details of political and social life in the Straits Dependencies than any other man there. The book bears internal proof of what he tells us, when he says it has been compiled after a careful search amongst records obtainable only in Singapore, and that his object in once more visiting Penang, Province Wellesley, and Malacca, was the gaining additional information to render the volume both more interesting and more reliable. The book contains a few lithographic illustrations and is very creditably got up; it has its faults, but we regard them rather as those of an author who has probably for the first time essayed a work of the kind than those of a professional book-maker. It is somewhat rambling and diffuse in parts, and too often it is found furnishing trivial details of interest only to those who know the Settlements, or who have especial reasons for making themselves acquainted with the minutiae of daily life there. It is no disparagement to the value of the work to say that the author's candid mode of treating one or two questions

has provoked some little ill-feeling in certain quarters, such being probably inseparable from the risks run by one who in a very small community writes on its habits and local peculiarities. It is but fair to the author to mention that in his Preface he tells us, that the book has been written for the 'people of England,' and that 'with the belief that the possessions of which they treat, are about to come under the direct control of the Imperial Government.'

More than one visit to the districts, upon which Mr. Cameron has written, assures us of the soundness of his views in the main, and the correctness of his information generally; and if an eccentricity of style and expression pervades the pages before us, we accept it in consideration of the pains shown in the compilation of the work. Mr. Cameron is apparently very proud of his adopted home, which he holds in such estimation as to assert that 'in point of physical beauty it can have few compeers'. This weakness, if such it be, must detract from its value as a work, claiming to be a great or permanent authority, but the book can for other reasons scarcely assume to take up that position. From several remarks we perceive that the author is one of those who consider that the Straits Settlements have failed to obtain as large a share of attention from the Indian Government as their political and commercial importance entitle them to, or as they would have obtained, had they existed as a Colony under the immediate control of the Home Government. In this we agree with him. Doubtless much of this supposed neglect has arisen from the insular position of the Settlements, as well as their total dissimilarity to any other portion of Indian territory, in people, language, habits, or requirements. Any person spending only a short time in Singapore will have noticed how prevalent is the opinion, that its trade would have been developed more rapidly, had it not been under Indian rule. Europeans consider that their wants are not understood by our Government, that it has sometimes treated them as an unimportant and somewhat troublesome dependency, and overlooked the fact that their position is one of political consequence, and that commercially their value is proved by their trade, rendering Singapore the third largest port in India; being inferior to those only of Calcutta and Bombay. We believe there have been some grounds for complaint as to the manner in which their applications and remonstrances have occasionally been treated, but our neighbours should remember that they have but little claim to any great amount of consideration from at least one important member of our Government, and that the one who possesses in a great degree the power of making any part of India a happy or a discontented

province. It is not to be expected that our Finance Minister should take any great amount of interest in the Straits Settlements, save in so far as their prosperity causes the population to be larger or smaller consumers of his favourite opium, since not only are all the taxes which are raised in the Settlements paid out for their maintenance, but until the stamp duties were extended to those provinces some two years and a half ago, their expenditure caused a considerable drain annually upon the revenues of India proper.

Regarding some of their grievances we are disposed to think the colonists have a reasonable cause of complaint, and knowing the nature of them we feel assured that they have their existence, chiefly through a total misunderstanding of the requirements of the dependency. Few of our Indian officials, even those of the Supreme Council, can boast of being acquainted with the requirements of a locality having little in common with the three great Presidencies, to say nothing of our Non-regulation provinces. From time to time laws have been framed for the government of the Straits Settlements, and though possibly suggested by some Governor or Resident Councillor there, they have often proved totally unsuited to the requirements of the Colony. These laws so passed have frequently differed most widely from those under which we live, but that does not prove their suitability, and we are bound to pay deference to the judgment of the colonists themselves on a subject like this. We believe that this haphazard mode of legislation has done more than anything else to induce the recent clamour of the inhabitants to be transferred from Indian rule, and to be placed under the control of the Colonial office.

Having thus glanced at the present position of the Straits Settlements in their relation to India, it is not without interest that we regard the mode in which they originally became absorbed into its Empire. Like almost all the acquisitions to our Eastern Empire, the annexation has been piecemeal throughout the Straits, and now they comprise Singapore, Penang, including Province Wellesley, and Malacca, forming one Colony under British jurisdiction, together with a variety of islands, more or less under English rule, some of them uninhabited, but many of them being thriving spots, containing industrious populations existing in peace under their respective Rajahs, but regarding themselves as entitled to British protection. Nearly the whole of these people are more or less dependent on the development of European trade in the Straits Settlements for their prosperity. It is to the European they look for a market for their respective articles of produce.

They have settled where they are, regarding themselves as subjects of Great Britain, if indeed, they are subject to any European power, and knowing, as they have long done, the Dutch to be hard task masters, they protest against any attempt at the absorption of territory within the limits, which, rightly or wrongly, they suppose to be defined by a treaty executed between Great Britain and the Netherlands in 1824. It is regarding this subject that we purpose offering a few remarks hereafter, considering that the merits of the question should be decided without delay, since more than three years have been allowed to elapse since the matter was first formally brought under the notice of both the Indian and Imperial Governments.

The earliest records we have of the most important of these Settlements, both politically and commercially, *viz.* the island of Singapore and its dependencies, date back as far as 1160, when a Malay tribe from Sumatra is said to have taken forcible possession of the island, then peopled by a few Aborigines. The prosperity of the colony which they formed in it, soon attracted the cupidity of the kings of Java, who, during nearly a century, made repeated attempts to wrest it from these Malay settlers, eventually proving successful through an act of treachery perpetrated in 1252, which is thus related by Mr. Cameron: 'Their chief, captivated by the exceeding comeliness of the daughter of his bandahara or viceroy, took her to wife, much to the disgust of his other mistresses, who not long after her marriage accused her of infidelity, and so worked upon the jealousies of the prince that he ordered her impalement. The bandahara, assured of his child's innocence, earnestly entreated that if his daughter must suffer death, it might not be a shameful one. His request, however, was disregarded, and so was formed the first traitor in the camp of the islanders. The bandahara secretly invited the Javanese to the conquest of the place; they came and the gates of the citadel admitted them at night.'

We are told that these conquered Malays sought refuge on the adjoining continent, and from this exodus dates the foundation of the colonisation of that Peninsula.

On it they seem to have prospered in a greater degree than even at Singapore, while their conquerors, forming but poor colonists, allowed the island to relapse into the insignificance formerly attaching to it, as little better than the home of a few poor fishermen. In this state it remained for nearly three centuries, when it again reverted to the Malays through their banishment from the main land. As the Javanese had envied them their prosperity in Singapore, so did the Portuguese envy them their successful colony in Malacca, and war being commenced, it

was speedily wrested from them by the troops of the latter under Albuquerque. Thus driven from pillar to post they appear to have halted for a short time mid-way between the two, and there founded a kingdom, still known as that of Johore, subsequently annexing to it their former acquisition, Singapore, together with several other islands in the neighbourhood. Thus was founded that kingdom, from whose Sultan the East India Company eventually gained possession of the territory under the treaty of 1824, though it had virtually become British by right of seizure some five years previously.

To Sir Stamford Raffles belongs the credit of having first recognised the importance of Singapore as affording a central position between India and China ; one directly in the highway between the two countries, and one that must ever remain the key to power over the narrow seas which intersect the whole of the Eastern Archipelago. Equal to his foresight in its selection appear to have been the means he adopted in accomplishing his object which he thus effected.

There was in 1818 a resident Agent of the East India Company at Malacca, a Major Farquhar, who in that year negotiated a treaty with a Rajah, known as Sultan Abdul Shah, permitting the East India Company to erect a factory upon what was supposed to be his territory of Singapore, and guaranteeing a freedom to trade to other parts of his adjacent dominions. On the Dutch authorities hearing of the execution of this treaty, one eminently injurious to their interests, they lost no time in disputing this Sultan's right to enter into any such negotiation, or in any way to alienate any portion of his dominions, holding him to be a vassal of the Netherlands Government, on the ground of his receiving tribute in the shape of a monthly payment of four thousand guilders, for the cession of Rhio actually, but which they construed as applying to all neighbouring islands. On this course being adopted by the Dutch, and the position of affairs being so likely to interfere with his favorite scheme, Sir Stamford Raffles determined to take forcible possession of the island, proceeding thither for that purpose with the Company's Agent, then resident at Malacca. Having planted the British flag there in 1819, he placed himself in communication with the Viceroy of Johore, known to the present day by the title of Tumongong, and residing on the adjoining Peninsula. This man, entertaining no friendly feelings towards the Dutch, speedily became amicable, and from him Sir Stamford Raffles learned that the Company's Agent had been duped regarding the treaty of the previous year, and that though disputed with such apparent earnestness by the Dutch, they had withheld from our

Agent's knowledge the fact, that the man, with whom it had been made, possessed no right, whatever to the sovereignty of Singapore;—that, though a son of the late Sultan, he was not the legitimate sovereign of Johore, his eldest brother being alive, but residing in retirement on the Dutch island of Rhio. Finding the Company thus out-witted, Sir Stamford seems to have acted with creditable energy, secretly putting himself in communication with Hassan Shah, the elder brother, and inducing him to quit Dutch territory, unknown to the authorities. On getting him to Singapore, no time was lost in proclaiming him Sultan in the presence of the elective officers of Johore. It would appear that during the following five years, this Sultan was permitted to rule the island under British protection, for it was not until 1824 that the island was formally ceded to the Company. In that year a treaty was executed between the East India Company on the one part, and the Sultan and the Tumongong on the other. It is under this treaty we hold the island, and by one made shortly afterwards that the possession of it, together with the other settlements, was confirmed by the Dutch. Mr. Cameron, alluding to the former, gives us the following as some of its provisions :—

‘The Island of Singapore, together with the adjacent seas, straits, and islets, to the extent of ten geographical miles from the coast of Singapore, were given up in full sovereignty and property to the East India Company, their heirs, and successors, for ever; the Company agreeing to pay the Sultan the sum of 33,200 Spanish dollars, together with a yearly stipend during his life, of 15,600 Spanish dollars; and to the Tumongong the sum of 26,000 dollars, together with a yearly stipend of 8,400 dollars. By this treaty, too, the Sultan and Tumongong bound themselves to enter into no alliance, and make no treaties with any foreign power or potentate, without first obtaining the consent of the British thereto.’

We have thus entered somewhat at length into the manner in which the principal settlement came into our possession, and it may not be amiss casually to refer to the acquisition of Penang and Malacca, since there seems to be no doubt but that before long some fresh understanding must be come to between our own and the Netherlands Governments, regarding the absorption of those large tracts of territory upon which the Dutch now claim sovereignty, but which are said to be British, or at least under British protection, in compliance with the treaty we have alluded to, as confirming the cession of Singapore.

Second in importance amongst the settlements is the island of Penang. This beautiful spot claims to be the earliest

of the possessions of great Britain within the Straits, and the one which the East India Company first selected as giving us a footing in the Eastern Archipelago, and a means of stopping the encroachments of the Dutch, then being carried out to an extent which threatened to give that power an absolute monopoly, not only of those channels which form the natural highway between India and China, but of those also which are most usually adopted between China and Europe.

The first possession of the East India Company on any of the islands of the Archipelago, was that of Bencoolen on the south-west coast of Sumatra, selected in 1685 as a counterpoise to Dutch power in those parts, but one totally unsuited to the Company's requirements; however, it remained in their possession as the only station for just a century, until in 1786 Penang was formally annexed to the Company's territories. The policy of the selection of this island would appear to have been first pointed out by a Mr. Light in 1771, when he called the attention of Warren Hastings to its advantageous position in a strategic point of view. On that occasion he wrote thus, some sixteen years subsequently:—

'So long ago as 1771, I wrote to Mr. Hastings particularly concerning the country of Quedah, and the utility of Pulo Penang as a commercial Port, recommending it as a convenient magazine for Eastern trade.' There has always been a piece of romance attached to this Mr. Light, and his admiration for Penang. It runs somewhat to this effect; that he wooed and won the affections of one of the Rajah of Quedah's daughters, of course a beautiful Eastern maiden, that her dower was the island of Penang, which he subsequently disposed of to the East India Company for an annuity of ten thousand dollars. Mr. Cameron, in one of his chapters on Penang, denies the truth of the whole story, and states that the Rajah of the time-being still receives this yearly compensation.

In thus glancing at the component parts of the Straits Settlements we must not overlook the rich and populous district known as Province Wellesley, separated from Penang by but a few miles of sea. This Province, which will compare advantageously in fertility, if not in beauty, with any district in the Straits, was annexed to Penang in 1800, being purchased, not for the purposes of cultivation, but to prevent its being longer employed as a *rendezvous* for pirates, who began to haunt those seas, as the prosperity of Penang offered inducements for their nefarious traffic. To show the daring character of these lawless marauders, we quote from the work before us an account of an exploit attempted on one occasion. It is given thus:

'In 1791 these pirates, irritated by the opposition they encount-

'ered from the British war-ships in the neighbourhood of Penang, 'determined utterly to destroy that settlement and put the residents 'to the sword. For this purpose a fleet of over twenty well-armed 'fighting prahus entered the mouth of the Prye river, where they 'were joined by ninety war-boats furnished surreptitiously by the 'Rajah of Quedah. This combined force having placed their fleets 'in safety, rapidly set to work to fortify a position on the beach opposite Penang by the construction of stockades. These, the remains 'of which are still visible, were soon completed, and being powerfully garrisoned, the fleet of over one hundred boats of all descriptions sallied forth from the shelter of the Prye river to execute the 'destruction of Penang. Intimation of the intended attack had however somehow been conveyed to the British Government, and 'four small vessels and several gunboats were got ready for the 'attack. As soon as the piratical fleet hove in sight, a rapid descent was made upon it by the British ships, and though the 'disparity of strength was enormous, the act was so sudden, vigorous, and altogether so unexpected, that the pirates gave way in 'disorder. Simultaneous with the attack by sea, three companies 'of sepoys, a body of native artillery, and some twenty-five Europeans, were landed on the beach of the Province and attacked, 'and after some hard fighting at great odds, took the stockades 'from their pirate defenders.'

The least important of the British settlements in the Straits, or rather of those which have been made official stations, is Malacca. Its trade is still unimportant, its total exports being only some £360,000 in 1863, while its imports amounted to no more than £453,000 in the same period. Malacca first came into our possession in 1795, when it was taken from the Dutch. It was subsequently restored to them in 1818, but, under the treaty with Holland to which we shall have occasion to refer, *viz.*, that of 1824, it again became ours in 1825. We have thus been somewhat diffuse regarding our interesting possessions in the Archipelago, and since the trade throughout those parts is of a similar character in whichever settlement it has its basis, it will be sufficient if in the following remarks we deal with it as a whole. In a similar manner we may regard the political views entertained by the Singaporeans as enunciating those generally held by the European residents at all the settlements.

Mr. Cameron has rendered several of his pages highly instructive, as treating on the products and exports of Singapore. Although the island itself produces few articles of great commercial value, its central position, and the great agricultural and mineral wealth of the lands adjacent, have of late years made its exports



large and varied ; indeed, in proportion to the aggregate value, we should find it difficult to point to any country from which the exports consist of such a variety of substances. In regarding the commercial importance of Singapore, we should never lose sight of the fact that it is only as an *entrepôt* that it can claim a high position.

Whatever may have been the political reasons which caused Sir Stamford Raffles to make the determined efforts he did to acquire the island, it is certain not only from his despatches, but from his subsequent conduct, that he regarded it as destined under British rule to hold the commercial key (if we may be allowed the expression) to the wealth of the Archipelago. This is proved not only by the stipulations made regarding Singapore being ceded to the East India Company as a free port, but by the clauses of the treaty subsequently made with the Dutch, which give us the liberty to trade with the richest portions of the neighbouring islands, and that at a time when we were in possession of an equal right in the valuable Peninsula adjoining. It is evident to us that Sir Stamford Raffles had made himself well acquainted with the valuable productions of the Archipelago, and foresaw that if a central position were obtained for English energy to exhibit itself, to that spot would be attracted the chief products of the Straits. It is probable also that the delightful temperature of Singapore weighed with him in selecting that island in preference to others near it possessing far more fertile soils, but we should be inclined to believe that its central position on the highway between India and the far East chiefly determined him in his selection. Doubtless he viewed the matter in lights both political and commercial, but whatever may have been his motives, there can be no two opinions that his choice was an eminently sound one, as will be shown, we think, from the few remarks we are about to offer after a perusal of the chapters in the volume before us, referring more especially to the exports of the Colony. Almost on the Equator, without any change of seasons, it is surprising to say it is found well suited to the European's constitution, and this is alone to be accounted for by the plenitude of sea breezes which may be said to be always blowing from some quarter and in some degree of force, together with the almost daily advent of copious showers, which come on suddenly as the frequent squalls, prevalent throughout the year in the Straits, happen to break over the island.

From the travelling propensity of these squalls and their great strength, the rains which accompany them seldom last long, and the clouds which foretell their near approach afford an agreeable change from the bright glare of a tropical sun.

The sameness of temperature and the absence of the change afforded by the diversity of long and short days certainly causes a feeling of monotony, after even only a short residence, and drives one to do in Singapore what Singaporeans do, that is to take everything in the easiest possible manner; indeed, the only excitement ever manifested by the community is such as is caused by the arrival of the European mails.

Mr. Boyle seems to have felt this, for he thus describes Singapore life; 'Decidedly Singapore is the least sociable Colony of England. No public amusement whatever exists there, and the English inhabitants rarely meet except in their warehouses or on horseback. Each family gives one dinner party in six months and a ball once a year. The military band plays three times a week upon the Esplanade; races occur once in the twelve months.' Our author is wrong; the sporting men of the island indulge their propensities on a very creditably arranged race course twice a year, and considering the paucity of Europeans the sport is fairly supported. On the course we have seen some very good running by 'Arabs,' but we cannot say much for the performances of otherwise bred horses.

Mr. Cameron furnishes some tables regarding the range of the thermometer during the three years immediately preceding that in which he writes. From them we learn that the extremes during the whole period never exceeded twenty-two and a half degrees, and show an average of about twenty-one; the figures indicated being *min.* 70° and *mar.* 92½°. These tables also show how slight are the variations of each month in a year, indeed such as would be imperceptible to the human frame.

During the year 1863 rain fell on 184 days, and showing a fall for the whole year of some 86 inches.

We quite agree with the author in the following remarks, and well know that they would be endorsed by almost every European resident in Singapore. He says, 'The climate is also one in which more out-door amusement can be enjoyed than in that of most other tropical countries, from sun-rise till eight o'clock in the morning, and from half past four in the afternoon till sunset; the sun is comparatively harmless, and even in mid-day Europeans walk about the Square in town with apparent impunity. To be safe, however, the head should always be kept well covered, and with this precaution the more out-door exercise indulged in the better.' From these few particulars it will be easily understood that it is owing to the locality of the Straits being thus favored, that its salubrity has been secured to the European inhabitants therein; and while this has been gained vegetable products are, from the same causes, found to thrive in perfection. From

the islands of the Archipelago are to be obtained some vegetable substances unobtainable elsewhere, while there is scarcely a tropical or semi-tropical plant that does not flourish to perfection on most of them. Some of these islands are extremely beautiful, exhibiting a diversity of landscape which must be seen to be appreciated. The extreme southern and south-western portion of Sumatra will alone re-pay one for a cruise in the neighbourhood, to say nothing of the little gems of uninhabited islands that stand like outposts around the rugged but verdure-clad coast.

The resinous trees of the Straits Settlements are very various, and contribute largely to the exportable commodities of Singapore and Penang, while the number of forest trees furnishing hard and durable wood of large size is very great, and the timber of these forms an article of considerable trade with China. The lists of both these would be far too long for us to furnish, if given as found in the appendices of the work before us, and would be of but little value to the general reader, since only the Malay names are supplied even where the more important kinds are referred to.

One of the resinous articles of trade which used formerly to be found in large quantities is now scarcely obtainable in the island itself, but Singapore being, as we have said, the great *entrepôt* of the Straits, large quantities are still exported thence to Europe. We refer to the article of gutta percha. As this product has of late years attracted considerable attention not only in commercial but in social circles, it may not be uninteresting if we describe the mode adopted by the Malays in obtaining the gum, one which certainly is most lamentable, as is proved from the fact, that although the Gutta Percha tree is indigenous to Singapore, scarcely any of the species is now to be found in its forests.

The first samples of this substance sent to Europe were from Singapore, the article being brought under the notice of Europeans there casually, although its employment was by no means new to the Malays.

The article is collected in the following manner, and if this is to continue to be the mode adopted, the exhaustion of the supply cannot be permanently prevented, since it is said that ten trees produce only one cwt. of the gum. 'A full grown tree, which must be twenty or thirty years of age at least, is cut down and the smaller branches cleared away; round the bark of the trunk and the larger branches, circular incisions are made at a distance from one another of a foot or a foot and a half. Under each of these rings a cocoanut shell or some other vessel is placed to receive the juice, which exuding

from round the cut, trickles down, and drops from the under part of the tree. In a few days the tree has given forth its life blood. The juice in the vessels is then collected into pitchers made of the joints of the larger bamboo, and conveyed to the huts of the collectors, where it is placed in a large cauldron and boiled so as to steam off the water which mixes with the juice, and to clear it of impurities. After boiling, it assumes its marketable consistency, and is brought in for sale.

The Chinese cultivate in considerable quantities the *Terra Japonica* bush and the pepper vine, these are frequently reared on the same plantation, and make a garden look excessively pretty when ordinary pains are bestowed on keeping it in order. The growth of these plants being thus possible, side by side, it forms a favorite branch of industry with the Chinese throughout the island, who possessing but a small piece of ground adjoining their huts, and having but the labor of their own families to rely on, naturally turn their attention to plants thus economical in their requirements of space.

It is from the '*Terra Japonica*' that the article, known in commerce as gambier, is obtained, the export of which from Singapore and Penang is considerable, and annually on the increase. Amongst the spice-giving trees grown in the Straits, there is one now laboring under a misfortune which threatens to prove fatal to its cultivation much longer; we allude to the nutmeg tree. For many years after its introduction into Singapore it promised most satisfactory results, indeed it promised to become the planter's favorite, but unfortunately the tree was a few years ago attacked by a blight of a peculiarly insidious character, which has from its first appearance, made steady progress in its ravages. Every effort has been made to stay its progress, but without success. We are told that many of the European planters have spent as much in their attempts to do this on their estates as those estates had previously cost them. Not only is the nutmeg a valuable article of export, but it is the fruit of one of the most beautiful of tropical trees,—not only elegant in shape and color, but rendered more so by blossoming and bearing fruit simultaneously. The fruit, as it ripens, adds materially to the beauty of the tree, when the outer shell partially opening displays a kind of peel enclosing the fruit; this inner shell or peel is of the richest crimson until dried, and is then known as mace.

As in Penang miles of land are devoted to the cultivation of the betel, so similarly placed land, although generally speaking less rich, is devoted to the growth of the cocoanut in Singapore. In the latter, immense districts are planted with these peculiar palms,

and their cultivation continues on the increase, stimulated by a large local consumption, and a demand for the nut throughout the neighbourhood, and even extending as far as Burmah. The cocoanut palm is said not to be indigenous, though it flourishes on the island in perfection, attaining a height of 35 or 40 feet when of full growth, and then yielding from 80 to 100 nuts annually. After the plantation is first formed, so little outlay is required, that the cultivation is found to be a more profitable one than was originally expected, when some twenty years ago the cultivation by Europeans on a large scale was first commenced. For many years subsequently, indeed, the length of time between the outlay and adequate returns deterred planters from entering upon this now lucrative trade. However, within the past ten years opinions have greatly changed; indeed, within that period there has been something of a mania for planting the cocoanut tree, so much so that we could point to miles of low land of very inferior quality, which have been bought up at high rates for this purpose. The experience of the early planters has caused lands valueless for any other purpose to have a marketable price, a thing they never had before. Doubtless, nearly all our readers have wandered through a cocoanut plantation, but they may not all have had to turn from a white dusty road under an equatorial sun into such a plantation; those who have been so compelled will agree with us that the deep shade these trees afford, and the milk derivable from the green fruit, have enabled them to pursue their journey considerably renovated by the *détour*.

The Malays employ the milk of the young cocoanut in a variety of ways; there is scarcely an article of their cookery into which the cocoanut is not introduced in some form or other, while they carry the green nut in travelling by land or sea in preference to water, believing that the milk quenches the thirst more effectually. The variety is great of those minor articles of vegetable produce, which go far to swell the list of the exportable commodities of Singapore, but they are too numerous, and at the same time individually of too small a value, to require more than a passing notice, except to remark that some of them obtain a quality unusually high, as compared with the same plants grown in the tropical countries of the West. We allude to such as the sagopalms, and similar farinaceous food-giving trees. Indeed, so superior is the sago of the Eastern Islands, that the world's supply is now almost entirely derived from Singapore, where the meal is taken to be refined by the Chinese, who, by a peculiar process, give it the pearly lustre so much appreciated in Europe. The manufacture of this article employs a large number of the Chinese population.

Before quitting this part of our subject we should refer to the unsatisfactory attempt, which some time ago attracted considerable attention, when the cultivation of sugar in Singapore was entered upon by European capitalists. From almost the earliest times of Chinese immigration, the sugar cane has been grown with success, and the juice manufactured by them in a primitive mode has met a large local consumption. An alteration of the sugar duties at home, by which the sugar of Province Wellesley was for a time admitted at a lower duty than that of Singapore, coupled with the fact that the soil of the former district is richer, has caused Capitalists to relinquish the growth of the cane on the island, and to devote their attention to Province Wellesley, where it is now cultivated largely, and bids fair to become a very large trade. There are already some large and thriving plantations, whereon, by European processes, some very fine sugar is manufactured.

It would be an unpardonable slight to our neighbours to overlook the fruits of the island, knowing, as we do, how highly they pride themselves on those productions. With all due respect to their tastes, we think they considerably overrate some of these when they draw favorable comparisons between the fruits of Singapore and other lands. To take class by class would be impossible, but we can differ from them when they maintain that their mangoes and their pine apples are unequalled in the wide world. There are three kinds of fruit however worthy of a passing reference, two of which are said to be indigenous. Foremost amongst these must ever be placed the delicious mangosteen, called by Europeans 'the apple of the east', but what analogy exists between the apple and the mangosteen we have never been able to discover. The mangosteen is well known to our Calcutta readers as an imported fruit, but those who have not seen and tasted it in the Straits, can have but a faint idea of its beauty and delicacy when fresh and thoroughly ripe. It is a fruit which deteriorates very speedily and ill bears packing, the consequence being that when required for exportation the fruit is picked before it has arrived at maturity, actually unripe.

The other indigenous description is that known as the durian, which partakes somewhat of the character of the jack fruit, and is an execrable product. Some travellers have extolled this disgusting fruit, and we know some residents in the Straits who pretend to admire its flavor, but we say with Mr. Cameron 'the taste of the fruit it is impossible to describe, but the smell of it, from which the flavour may be judged, is such that no gentleman in England should care about having one' in his house; even in the Straits it is never set upon the table. The

‘ Malays and natives are passionately fond of it, and will go through any amount of hardship to procure it.

‘ A former king of Ava is said to have spent enormous sums to obtain constant supplies ; and the present king keeps a steamer in Rangoon awaiting the arrival of supplies there. The fruit, as soon as received, is sent up the river as speedily as possible to the capital, 500 miles distant. With Europeans the liking for it is, I think, in all cases acquired ; the first venture is generally made in bravado, and so singular is the fascination it possesses, that if the new arrival can overcome his repugnance sufficiently to swallow the coating of one or two seeds, he will, in all probability, become strongly attached to it.’

There is a fruit known as the rambutan, which, when growing, looks very handsome, and when in bearing gives the large tree, on which it grows in immense clusters, the appearance of being in blossom with a reddish orange flower. In taste it much resembles the leechee of China but in no other particular, and is decidedly superior to it. There are many other kinds of fruit, but none, we believe, unknown to our Calcutta markets.

In opening the enquiry as to the causes which have led to the rapid advancement of each Settlement, as it has come under British supervision, we consider we cannot do better than follow our author. We coincide with him entirely in the view he takes of the nature and requirements of the trade of Singapore, Penang, and Malacca. He lays stress upon the fact that the Dutch have imitated the British example, and says that they now have scattered over the Archipelago half a dozen free ports, one of which is only sixty three miles distant from Singapore. Mr. Cameron says,—‘ So evenly balanced are the causes which at present affect favourably or otherwise the commerce of this entrepôt, that the slightest burden thrown in the scales against it would sink it, it might be irrevocably, below the reach of the current of prosperity. The two great advantages, that at the beginning drew the trade of the East towards Singapore, were first, the central and convenient position of the station ; and second, the entire exemption from commercial imposts or taxes on trade, at a time when the Dutch in the neighbourhood drew their chief revenue from import and export duties, and when even the Company themselves had no other free port.’ The Dutch ports, it is true, have not robbed the Straits of much of its old trade, but they have certainly deflected a good deal of that which, in their absence, would doubtless have reached the English, especially towards the southeast of the Archipelago ; and they remain ready at any moment to engulph all that may be driven from Singapore by restrictive legislation. In Mr. Cameron’s

intense respect for the advancement of his adopted home, he appears to us over-zealous in his description of its progress; he seems to fancy that no quarter of the globe could show any port exhibiting such a speedily increased trade as forty years has shown in Singapore. Even if this were the case it would not be the subject for exultation he desires to make it, since Singapore produces comparatively little, and trades upon its neighbours in both exports and imports. It is merely as an entrepôt it is maintained, and therefore the figures regarding exports and imports hold no analogous position to those of a country which produces and consumes the value of the articles shown in the statistics. The imports into Singapore are consumed in districts, separated by twenty degrees of latitude, and it is on the opening out of new countries and development of new industries, that the prosperity of the Straits trade must always depend, since, as each country progresses, it seeks its supplies direct from the various manufacturing countries, rather than depend upon the intermediate market, upon which in its younger days it had solely to rely. There are examples of this in Saigon and Bangkok, to say nothing of the casual trade formerly carried on with China. It would be as sensible for a person to judge of a London broker's status by his banking account, as to take the imports or exports of Singapore as a proof of its intrinsic value. As the broker holds the money of both principals, so the Straits receive and disburse, keeping but little for themselves, and benefiting almost entirely by the commission derivable as agents in the transfer of the property. We however shall give a few figures which will show that, be the trade of what character it may, it is a progressive one, and so long as it is under British rule it must continue to be so, but we should be wanting in candour, did we not express our firm conviction that its best days are passed. We know this to be the fixed opinion of several of its best friends. As an open roadstead in a great highway, and having a port free from taxation, it must always be a great calling station, and it is because it has long been this, that the tonnage returns we give below must be received in the same manner as those of the trade of the island, *viz.* as finding little more than a temporary direction to and from Singapore. Mr. Cameron furnishes a vast amount of statistics affording information regarding these and similar questions, but space precludes our extracting them even if we recognised their value as he does, which we certainly do not for the reasons given above. We give a few summaries thus:—

	1823	£		1863	£
Imports	...	1,200,000	}	Imports	6,500,000
Exports	...	950,000		Exports	5,500,000



That Singapore has not advanced in the same ratio as the more producing districts around is shown by the following compiled table. We regret that we cannot find room for extracting the voluminous figures which lead to the result, but we believe that these extracted will furnish sufficient information to any reader who has not occasion to study the details, and to those who have that necessity we can commend Mr. Cameron's work.

The following abstract shows that the trade stood thus in the years given.

*Imports and Exports of the three Settlements.*

	1833.	1843.	1853.	1863.
SINGAPORE ...	3,748,000	5,548,000	6,515,000	12,017,000
PENANG & PROVINCE } WELLESLEY }	867,000	1,022,000	1,687,000	4,076,000.
MALACCA ...	162,000	157,000	517,000	813,000
Total ...	4,777,000	6,727,000	8,719,000	16,906,000

We summarise the arrivals and departures of square rigged vessels, but they are of no more value commercially, than would be the details of an hotel keeper's business in England, if the property was estimated solely by the number of guests, and included every one who had once only stopped at his house to refresh himself or horse.

From 35 Countries } 1,279 vessels with an aggre-  
Under British flag 608 } gate tonnage of 471,442  
ditto Foreign 671. } tons.

Of course the mere calling of so large a number of vessels annually must cause money to circulate within the Colony, and we know that many charters are effected at this central depôt profitable to the community, but what we lay stress on is the danger of these figures being accepted as any indication of the actual value of the commerce maintained by the Settlements. We have furnished these few particulars merely as an indication of those given in the volume, since even were it within the space accorded us, it is not within the province of this *Review* to become a trades circular or a commercial economist, but we cannot, in justice to Mr. Cameron, dismiss this part of his subject without mentioning, that he subsequently points out how small is the consumption of the island itself and its productive powers, when he says, '—It will not be difficult to gather from a comparison of the

‘ imports with the exports, that the consumption of the island is insignificant as compared with its imports, and that its production is even more disproportioned to its exports. It may be roundly stated that 90 per cent of the European manufactures and Indian produce, which are landed there, are again re-shipped further eastward, and that not 5 per cent of the products, exported to great Britain, America, the Continent of Europe, and India, are of local growth or manufacture.’

In this hasty glance at the commercial position of the Straits, we must offer a few brief remarks on two of their mineral products. Of these the most important is Tin; this metal is found in large quantities in many parts of Malayan India, and is generally of a high quality. In commerce it is known as Banca tin, from the fact of more important mines having been opened on that island than on others or on the Peninsula, but throughout the Straits the ore is obtainable, and the supply may be regarded as inexhaustible. The Malay countries are said to form the richest tin district in the world, extending over an extreme length of 1,200 miles. McCulloch says,—‘ By far the greater number of the mines within these limits are as yet unwrought and unexplored. It was only in the beginning of last century that the mines of Banca, the most productive at present worked, were accidentally discovered. The whole tin of the Malay countries is the produce of alluvial ores, or what is called in Cornwall, ‘ stream work,’ and from the abundance in which the mineral has been found by the mere washing of the soils, no attempt has hitherto been made at regular mining or obtaining the ore from its rocky matrix. Malay tin consequently is grain tin or tin in a very pure state; that being the species which alluvial ore uniformly produces.’

There is another valuable mineral product, the sole supply of which was for many years obtained from Singapore, *viz.* antimony ore, used in medicine as well as type founding, and being especially valuable as an article for ballast, since it possesses the highest specific gravity next to granite. The whole shipment of it from Singapore is the produce of Borneo, and fears having been entertained that that island had furnished all she was capable of furnishing. We are therefore glad to read in Mr. Boyle’s work that a new and extensive vein has just been discovered.

We have long entertained the opinion that the Malay race is one of the most extraordinary to be found anywhere; that the Malays are as peculiar a people as the countries they inhabit. To consider them as a nation would be to commit as great a mistake as to confound the Chinese of Canton with their aristocratic brethren of Peking. The Malays are hordes of people

differing from one another in many essentials, and so far as records enable us to form an estimate of their origin, we are driven to look upon them as predatory tribes settled in all eras upon lands, from which they have driven the fighting portion, and intermarried with the remainder. The variety of human form, possessing incontestable evidence of Malayan extraction, as stamped upon the countenance, is wonderful. Though they are known to have conquered Singapore from Sumatra, we are without information as to when they treated the aborigines of Sumatra in the same unceremonious manner. We find them flourishing in Malacca as far back as history can take us, and we have abundant evidence that they held a vast amount of territory in the Peninsula as early as 1260.

If we draw a circle of the Archipelago, we find its borders to include Malays, though it touches China and Australia, and includes countries and territories having but little in common. Under various forms of government they exist, but to their credit be it said, that they maintain good order amongst themselves, and respect the constituted authority under which they live. On those territories which claim British protection, but where European authority has not been set up, the Government possesses for its head a Sultan who is autocratic in all matters of internal rule; his authority is supported by a staff of officials having high social rank and known as '*daruths*,' whose power is considerable and feudal in its character. Under these governors of districts, there are men known as *pangulas*, holding a position somewhat analogous to our district Commissioners, but possessing more arbitrary power within their respective jurisdictions. This third grade sinks into nothing outside its own locality, unless its members have, as most of them have, made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

If we were asked to name one marked feature of their character, and the one daily and hourly exhibited above all others, we should say treachery is that feature. Revengeful as they are to a degree known to no other people, they select treachery as the means of carrying out their revenge. They will treasure up revenge for the term of their natural lives, if circumstances prevent the accomplishment of the destined object. It is scarcely going too far to say it frequently partakes of a Satanic character, so many evil passions contribute to its strength. The Malay glories in his treachery, and the more cleverly he carries it out, the more will he be locally respected; in a very similar manner to that in which the accomplished perjurer in our law courts will be respected in his village, in the degree in which he is found capable of duping the powers that rule in his neighbourhood.

It is our fixed opinion that it is as difficult for a Malay to act straightforwardly in his mode of taking revenge as for a Bengalee to tell the truth when he believes it will be injurious to his interests to do so, however indirectly. It is this characteristic which renders them such a dangerous people to deal with, and probably it would not be so to so great an extent, were it not that they unite with their treachery a quality that would seem inconsistent with it, but so it is;—they are personally brave in all the requirements of the *Desperado*. Doubtless, a certain recklessness of life influences this, but the fact is patent in every quarrel in which a Malay is engaged. It is never shown more markedly than when Malays and Chinese come to differences. Such feuds are carried on with a desperation rarely to be met with elsewhere.

If there be a race of barbarians who more thoroughly exhibit, at all times and in all situations, the quality which we English know as 'pluck,' that race is the Malay; and though we have written of them thus strongly, we do not deny to them the possession of many good qualities; indeed we will go the length of saying that whatever energy and barbarian courage can accomplish, the Malay can effect, but before he does so he will employ his favorite, and to him generally successful, method, of gaining his object. Treachery is a first law with him, never to be departed from.

It has often occurred to us when amongst them, that Sydney Smith was not far wrong when he said that if the Malays only possessed a Malay Bonaparte, and were provided with a full supply of opium, they would run amok\* from Cape Comorin to the Caspian. Figuratively they could certainly accomplish this, for of them it cannot be said that if 'the spirit is willing the flesh is weak.' Those qualities are found to be co-existent in the race; their physical strength is great, but we do not hold with Mr. Cameron in his description of their personal bearing or general appearance. Indeed we can only account for his description of them on the presumption, that he has taken for his type the best tribe to be found amongst the 140,000, supposed to constitute the population of the three British possessions. Certain we are that he does not accurately describe the race. We are even of opinion that he has taken an unjustly favorable view of even that tribe, be it found where it may.

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\* Commonly called in English 'run a muck' from the Malay word *Amok*, to kill.

He states the Malay population to be as follows :—

In Singapore	13,500
„ Penang and Province } Wellesley	72,000
„ Malacca	55,000

The Government returns differ much regarding the population of the Straits, and more still in the subdivision of their nationalities. This is not surprising when we consider that within Singapore alone can be found representatives of every civilised and semi-civilised country in the world, so much so that the *Times* newspaper on one occasion said, that there was nothing to compare with the streets of Singapore but the Russian fair of Nishori Novgorod. Of course the Chinese are now by far the most numerous; it is estimated that they number in Singapore itself some 90,000 souls.

To return to the Malays and the variety of the race. Mr. Cameron alludes to their confining themselves to particular trades, but seems to overlook the fact that circumstances alone have brought this about. We account for it thus; the whole of the Islands of the Archipelago have been, more or less, colonised by Chinese, and in a contest with the workman of that race, the Malay has no chance in works of handicraft. In industry and astuteness the Celestial will leave him very far behind, but if Mr. Cameron thinks he describes the peoples' capabilities correctly, when he says, for instance, that a Malay cannot follow the occupation of a tailor, he is wrong. In the Cape Colony there are numbers of Malays following this very trade, and successfully too. Our author not only overlooks the variety of the Malay race, but the change which emigration has made in their many tribes. It is not too much to say that the Malay of Java or Singapore differs as widely from the Malay of Cape Town, as the Englishman does from the man born and bred in Connecticut. The Malays who have settled in the Cape Colony, or rather, their descendants, who at the present time form so large a portion of the community there, have nothing whatever in common with the inhabitants of Malayan India. In language, in manners, and in costume, they are as opposite as in every respect as the countries they inhabit. Fancy comparing the slatternly haggard looking female of Malacca with the trim Malay nurse-maid who ornaments your Cape Town suburban house; they have nothing but their natural shrewdness and their extensive employment of cocoa-nut oil in common. The tidy waiting-maid with the splendidly white teeth in Southern Africa, would indeed feel herself insulted if Mr. Cameron told her that it was a sister of hers who in Sumatra would salute him, if permitted,

with lips of the most hideous red, and teeth as black as the ink in which these lines are printed. Imagine your handsome or graceful laundress, who from under Table Mountain performs her valuable service, (at such enormous cost), coming to our author in a robe without shape or character. A Cape servant, of Malayan race, so compelled, would verily, we believe, commit suicide forthwith as her sole resort in the spiteful revenge which is still found to lurk in their character, though so long occupants of their adopted home. We have often thought it must have been from the household servants of Cape Town, that the French Empress first obtained the idea of her favorite costume. When the word crinoline was unknown to civilised Europe, the pretty nurse of Rondebosh or Wynberg might be seen disporting herself in an amplitude of dress far more elegant than that ruling at the Tuilleries, and obtained in a much more sensible mode; which for the benefit of our lady readers, we may be pardoned as mentioning to be nothing but a conglomeration of petticoat of greater amplification, as they take priority of position adjacent to the pretty print gown universally adopted.

We have thus digressed merely to show how completely altered is the Malay found to be in different latitudes, and the absurdity of taking the syees, the boatmen, or the bearers of Singapore, as specimens of the Malays of other parts of the Archipelago. Indeed, this very diversity of opinion seems to have attracted Mr. Boyle's attention during his travels, for he mentions that the residents of Singapore hold an extraordinarily favorable opinion of the Malays, believing them less 'treacherous' than most Asiatic nations. Our opinion of them is that they are an astute, able, clever, people, having great power of endurance, but treacherous and bloodthirsty, addicted to the worst vices known to the Penal Code, but possessing the one redeeming feature, that when they do take a liking to any individual, whether he be white or black, in that man's service the Malay is prepared to draw the knife he carries, without questioning whether it be in a just or an unjust cause. We admit that they have proved to the Europeans a valuable people in many ways, and have thus aided in the rapid development of the Settlements, but we are not, therefore, to overlook their national faults; it is not because they first discovered for us gutta percha, and other useful products, that we should believe them immaculate, and when our author points exultingly to their infrequent appearance in the Courts of Justice, he should not overlook the fact that they employ our Marine Police to a very objectionable extent. If they don't steal very frequently on shore, as compared with the other

Singapore races, we should like to know whether they do not surpass in daring piracy any other of the nefarious traders who have from the very first proved the greatest trouble with which we have had to deal in the waters of the Straits. \*

We have entered thus at length into our ideas of the Malays, solely because, in regarding the question of whether the Indian Government is not unsuited to the population there, (owing to its totally different character,) we are dealing with one very material fact. Not only so, but, when we are asked to prevent the Dutch Government from bringing additional territory under a civilized, though encroaching administration, we may justly observe, that if our Government is not bound by treaty to protect the territories of these Rajahs, who now claim assistance, but is free to choose for itself, and is opposed to an extension of power in the Archipalego; then we say there is no more important question than that as to the nature of people who ask us to take their part against their enemies the Dutch. The question is an important one, and we therefore make no apology when we compare the opinions of our two recent authors. In conclusion of this part of our subject we shall quote from Sydney Smith's writings;—views, though expressed half a century ago, having still a value. That we agree with him in the main is probably a superfluous remark.

Mr. Cameron says, 'Malays, as a rule, seldom appear in our Criminal Courts; when they do, it is generally for some act committed in a sudden outburst of passion; they are rarely charged with theft or fraud. In their domestic relationship they are frank, amiable, and often generous. Deceit forms but a small part of their nature. They are strongly attached to their homes and to their families, and there is probably no more pleasing picture of social happiness than is presented by many of the Malay hamlets even in British territory. The poverty of the bulk of the people and the proportion of the sexes probably combine to prevent Polygamy. The men are far more gallant than natives of other parts of the East, and those they love they also respect.' Again we find our author telling us that 'the Malays are essentially gentlemen; they have no acquisitiveness, and if they can satisfy the wants of the moment they are happy. Speaking of the women he says, 'they are constant and faithful, and after marriage esteem their virtue their chief ornament.' Again 'between husband and wife, though the matrimonial contract is easily completed and as easily annulled, there subsists a sincere and generally lasting attachment.'

We could go on quoting a host of similar certificates of their amiability, but these will serve to show the high opinion regarding them which Mr. Cameron entertains.

His contemporary, in his book on Borneo, wavers somewhat on the point, but in one instance thus gives the Malays the benefit of the doubt, when he says,—The Malays have a reputation for treachery and cruel practices which they do not seem to deserve. Torture is never permitted, and they retaliate the charge of treachery on their accusers. Human life is not highly esteemed among them, it is true, but the same may, be said of all races inhabiting a tropical climate, and '*kresing*' is considered a merciful death. An independent Chieftain, well known in Singapore, is said to have crucified some rebels, who fell into his hands while we were in Sarawak. His '*pangerans*' remonstrated strongly with him, urging that torture was repugnant to human nature, and opposed to the customs of their ancestors. 'Very true' replied the Tumangong, 'but it is the English practice; they persuaded me to read their sacred books, and in them I found an account of it.' If the story be not true it is droll, but whether these unfortunates were crucified or not, I can positively aver that the Tumangong is a very handsome, courteous gentleman, who gives his friends a very good dinner, and sits with them while they drink capital wine from his cellars. It is possible that in the sanctity of the domestic circle he does not obey the Prophet's commandment quite so strictly as in company.'

Speaking of the *Amok* running, which has so often caused enquiry, Mr. Boyle says,—'Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the Malay nature is the strange madness called '*Amok*', to which all individuals of this race are liable. Any strong passion may rouse the latent phrenzy and anger, revenge, or the discovery of a calumnious accusation are frequent sources of deadly mischief. The gambling table sends out its homicides with regularity, but in nine cases out of ten, '*La donna*' will be discovered in the dressing room, when the tragedy is over.

And now we come to Sydney Smith's opinion. 'The Malays are the most vindictive and ferocious of living beings. They set little or no value on their own existence in the prosecution of their odious passions; and having thus broken the great tie which renders man a being capable of being governed and fit for society, they are a constant source of terror to all those who have any kind of connection or relation with them. A Malay servant, from the apprehension excited by his vindictive disposition, often becomes the master of his master. It is as dangerous to dismiss him as to punish him; and the rightful despot, in order to avoid assassination, is almost compelled to exchange characters with his slave. It is singular



however, that the Malay, incapable of submission on any other occasion, and ever ready to avenge insult with death, submits to the severest military discipline with the utmost resignation and meekness. The truth is, obedience to his officer forms part of his religious creed; and the same man, who would re-pay the most insignificant insult with death, will submit to be lacerated at the halbert with the patience of a martyr. This is truly a tremendous people! When assassins and blood-hounds will fall into rank and file, and the most furious savages submit (with no diminution of their ferocity) to the science and discipline of war!

It is not necessary for us to enter into any enquiry as to how far the Straits settlements have contributed to the wealth of India since their first annexation, the colonists themselves admitting that they have proved continued borrowers from the Indian treasury, but we may ask how far the European residents, who now clamour for separation from India, see their way clear to support increased official establishments, as they surely will be compelled to under the Colonial Office administration, and to provide funds for Military Services rendered, without materially increasing their expenditure; and, if this be incumbent, how far they are in a position to meet that increase. Up to the present time, they have remained the most lightly taxed people under British rule, and as such have flourished; they have received greater toleration than has been accorded to any district of India, while their trade has been totally unfettered; not even a preventive officer boards their ships, and with the exception of a small charge for light dues (if not previously paid), there is not an official who troubles himself as to what ship visits the port, except so far as gaining a few statistics regarding tonnage &c. For our own part we can only say, we have long envied them an immunity so complete.

It is at an unseasonable time that they address to the Indian Government their recent complaints regarding the innovations of the Dutch in the Straits, and did it merely rest on their *ex parte* cry, that those innovations impaired their opportunities of carrying on trade successfully, we should be content to counsel them to protect themselves by competing with that people, or, if beaten in the race, to take their defeat gracefully. But their complaints raise the question of our treaty rights, to say nothing of the important one as to how far it may be prudent to allow of a rival power even being in a position at any time to block up those narrow seas. A native power amicably disposed towards British rule may some day find itself under compulsion from a British enemy. These were our views when, nearly three years ago, the Dutch absorbed a large tract of country immediately opposite the western coast of Java, peopled by a tribe of Malays

forming a contrast to the race generally, and approaching nearer to the Javanese in docility. They possessed a fertile country, and were comparatively industrious. On their territory coffee as good as that of Java was being grown. Not only did this land excite the cupidity of the Dutch authorities on the neighbouring island, but they feared the proximity of a people producing the counter-part, within a short distance, of the article which, according to the conservative policy of the Netherlands Government, must be sent to Holland for realisation.

Since then numerous acquisitions of territory have been permitted, and it remains to be seen how far their last seizure in Sumatra will be tolerated by the Malay inhabitants, or permitted by the British Government.

In quitting this part of our subject we cannot but express our earnest hope, that the Indian Government will lose no time and no opportunity of keeping the Home Government well acquainted with the tenor of the despatches which reach them from our officials in Singapore on this subject. It is indeed of vital consequence to the political interests of Great Britain in the East that those strips of water should be left open channels to the navies and merchant ships of all nations. In the magnificent roadstead of Singapore we can always have a rendezvous inferior to none in the world, and no opportunity should be lost to prevent any European power from holding territory on the adjacent channels, that may be capable of giving it the power to prevent our gaining, in times of peace and war, easy access to that rendezvous. We are well aware that the subject is not calculated of itself to attract attention at home. There is therefore the greater necessity for an enquiry as to whether any steps are being taken in the matter with a view of maintaining in its integrity the treaty of 1824, if it be proved that such treaty has been broken. Many people will say that the countries in question are peopled by a race of pirates, but the question as to what the Malays are, forms, by no means, the sole point of importance.

Having thus glanced at the mode in which the Straits Colonies first came into British possession, their commercial value, their political responsibilities, and the character of their original races, we may, in conclusion, offer a few remarks upon the question as to how far their longer retention under the Government of India is desirable.

When we remember how mixed are the races of the Settlements, how totally dissimilar are their requirements from our own, and how little these are understood in India, we are driven to ask whether it would not be for the future advantage of all interested that a speedy separation should be amicably effected.

More especially does this seem desirable since the policy of the question has been acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India. It is more than two years since in answer to a question put to him by Mr. Crawford, Sir Charles Wood admitted from his place in Parliament that the Colonists must be the best judges of how far their prosperity would be enhanced by the direction of their affairs being handed over to the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office. While himself expressing no opinion on the policy of the transfer the Right Honorable Baronet stated that the Government were prepared to grant it, so soon as some military accounts had been adjusted, and that these would be balanced by the extension of the Stamp Act to the Straits. There were however some accounts of old standing to be arranged.

Now, it is regarding the delay in effecting these arrangements that the Straits Colonists are loud in their complaints against the Indian officials, but we have yet to learn whether these be well founded. When we know that it is admitted in official circles at home, that the Colonial office is the most heavily worked of any department of the State, we may be justified in asking whether no part of the procrastination has occurred in that department. It has given us pleasure, when considering the question, to notice the calm and dignified manner in which Mr. Cameron, as an avowed champion of the transfer, alludes to the conduct of the Indian Government in its treatment of the Settlements, and we cannot do better than quote his words which may well form a conclusion to this desultory article, and indeed as they might to a parting farewell, were this the day of final separation from India. 'Mr. Cameron says, 'It is only in the last year, 1863-64, that 'the endeavour has really been carried out, and that the revenue 'has been raised by fresh taxation, in the shape of a stamp duty, 'to a sum equal to refund India for the military expenditure.

'During the long years that preceded this last, India has 'suffered—and suffered patiently a yearly drain upon her treasury 'on account of the Straits Settlements of over thirty thousand 'pounds sterling.'

A little further on he writes, 'when the Indian Government 'hands over the Straits Settlements to the Crown, it will deliver 'a trust honestly kept and well deserving the solicitude of its 'new guardians.

'It has shown too, an example of high-minded forbearance in 'abstaining to check the growth of a promising Colony to save 'its own treasury, \* \* \* With the new Colony the Indian 'Government will also hand over to the Crown a revenue ready 'made, ample in all respects, and gathered in a manner that leaves 'trade and industry unburdened, and lays the pressure chiefly

‘upon native vice and luxury.’ We sincerely trust the ideal future, predicted for our neighbours by their zealous champion, may be realised to their fullest extent, and it will then be a matter of satisfaction to ourselves, to know that our pen has not been employed in any endeavour to stay a change so ardently desired by the thriving and industrious community of Singapore:— a community that has for many years prospered in a marked degree, and is destined still to prosper so long as peace rules within the Settlements, so long as its affairs are directed by men as sincere in their endeavours to advance the interests of the Colony as we know its present executive to be: not to speak of its good fortune in numbering amongst its citizens a man so devoted to its welfare, and so well able to expound its requirements, as the author of ‘Our Tropical Possessions in Malayan India.’

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## SHORT NOTICES.

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*Observations submitted on behalf of the Officers, of the Local Indian Army, with reference to the Speech of the Secretary of State for India, on the 2nd May 1865, and to the Debate in the House of Lords, on the 15th May 1865.* London, Printed by W. Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street and Charing Cross 1865.

THIS is the 'Red Book' of Colonel North's Committee,—the Committee whose industry and perseverance combined to inflict upon the Government the most telling defeat they sustained during the six years of their existence. Few instances indeed have been more striking, than this, of the great power of those qualities. Four years and a half ago the condition of the local officers of the Indian army seemed desperate. On the promulgation of the Warrant establishing the Staff Corps, many, who, under the old system, had suffered from slowness of promotion, hailed the chance which gave them their fair standing, but many, we believe, entered it because they regarded it as the only standing point in a period of revolution. But a very large proportion of the officers, urged by various motives, refused to have anything to do with the Staff Corps. These officers stood upon those rights, which they believed they had acquired by entering the service of the East India Company, and which had but recently received the sanction of a Parliamentary guarantee. There can be no doubt now, that many of the officers who so acted, did so with the fullest determination to bring the question to a test, and to gain from their position all the advantages which a Parliamentary guarantee held out to them. They looked well at the alternative, and we cannot now refuse to believe that many of them acted on the conviction that with perseverance, energy, and good management, they would gain more by remaining in the Local service than by transferring themselves to the Staff Corps.

We think that there can be little doubt that in devising the Staff Corps scheme, the authorities of the India House believed conscientiously that the new measure,—to use the expression employed by one of them,—'gave a lift' to the Indian service,

and that its advantages would be so patent to all but an infinitesimally small minority in the Indian Army, that its members would all gladly acquiesce in the new arrangement. But they ought not to be angry or surprised if all the officers have not regarded it in the same light. The fact is, all questions, but especially questions touching the pocket, are naturally looked at from two entirely opposite points of view. Generally one party tries with how small concessions it may satisfy the mass,—the other, how much it can, with any chance of success, demand.

But if we admit that the India House authorities were sincere in their belief that the Staff Corps scheme would be acceptable to the great bulk of the officers, our approval of their conduct must stop there. If they had wished to make the measure fail, they could not have adopted a course more directly tending to that end than that which they actually adopted. Every order, or certainly almost every order, emanating from the India House, is capable of more than one construction. Now, on the receipt of the Royal Warrant and the Staff Corps Rules from England, Lord Canning appointed a Commission of able and experienced officers, representing the three Presidencies, to interpret the rules in their fair sense, and to frame a general order based upon them. This general order, when completed, was submitted to the Governor General in Council, and was by him approved. Nevertheless it is a fact, that the India House authorities were so blind to the real design of their own measure,—to embrace within it as many competent officers as possible,—that they not only snubbed Lord Canning for appointing the Commission, but they refused to confirm some of the common sense (we will not even go so far as to call them liberal) measures which he had approved of, and the adoption or refusal of which just made the difference between the prospective popularity or unpopularity of the Staff Corps. Prominently amongst these was a measure, important more as a principle than as anything else, the refusal of which affected most injuriously the constitution of the Staff Corps, gave a great blow to the confidence of the officers in the India House, and produced enormous discontent. The refusal of this point was the more pernicious in its results, inasmuch as it involved an infraction of the Royal Warrant, then only very recently published, (January 1861.) We allude to the refusal to permit an officer of the Staff Corps to retire on the pension of his rank after twenty-two years' service. Under the old rules of the service, under the new Furlough Regulations also, this permission was expressly conceded to all officers. It formed one

of their retiring rules. Now the Royal Warrant of January, 1861, expressly granted to officers of the Staff Corps the same privileges with respect to pension and retirement which they had all along enjoyed. It manifestly followed, therefore, that officers entering the Staff Corps preserved that long established privilege. So thought the Amalgamation Commission, so thought Lord Canning and his Council. But so did they not think at the India House. In a short, curt, despatch, Lord Canning was directed to inform the officers of the Army that, notwithstanding the clause in the Royal Warrant, that privilege should not be extended to Indian officers. In vain did Lord Canning protest; in vain did he inform the authorities in London that he regarded it, and that the officers of the Army would regard it, as a breach of faith. Though he twice remonstrated, he was twice refused, and on the second occasion he was brusquely and rudely ordered never to refer for the second time a question on which the India House had given a decision.

What was the consequence? Confidence in the Home authorities was simply destroyed. If, said officers everywhere, the India House can thus sweep away one provision of the Royal Warrant, why can't they sweep away another, why can't they sweep away all? It seemed to them that the very sheet-anchor of the new Charter was broken, and that their hold on the other benefits promised was precarious in the extreme. We have conversed on this point with hundreds of Staff Corps men, and we have received but one answer from all. Coming so immediately after the promulgation of the Royal Warrant and the General Order constituting the Staff Corps, this retrograde action gave a rude shock to their confidence; it contributed more than anything else before or since, to make the Staff Corps unpopular.

And for what great object was the chance of this occurrence hazarded? Really for almost nothing at all. We believe, indeed, that the Government would have gained by continuing the old privilege. The point was this. Under the old Rules, an officer might retire on the pension of his rank after twenty-two years' service; or he might retire as a Major after twenty-four years. Now, as under the Staff Corps Rules, every man became a Major after twenty years' service, the India House authorities argued, that the effect of a continuance of the old Rules would be to permit every man to retire as a Major after twenty-two years' service. And so it would. But how many military men are able to retire after twenty-two years' service? A calculation made at the time shewed that the number of those who had so retired had been

extremely small, and there was no probability that it would become larger. At the utmost then it constituted a loss to the State of two years' service, perhaps, at the very outside, of two officers a year. But under the Staff Corps' scheme, so long as there remained a surplus of officers, these retirements would be a real gain to the State, as they would involve no promotions in their room. And yet it was for a gain so uncertain that the India House risked the loss of the confidence of their officers, and the stability of the new institution, which, nevertheless, they were most anxious to make a success.

It is perfectly true that in their final reply to Lord Canning they directed him to inform the officers, that those amongst them, who felt that faith had not been kept with them, might withdraw from the Staff Corps. It is equally true, that a few, whose promotion in the *cadres* of their corps had meanwhile advanced considerably, took advantage of this offer. But what were the great bulk of the officers to do? Many of them had been promoted in the Staff Corps, and not in their *cadres*. Returning to these latter they would have had to refund the difference, to repay money which they had already spent. Besides, at that time, the Local service was not only discredited, it had become a bye-word; and there were not wanting prophets of evil to declare, that so long as Staff Corps officers were available, no Locals would be admitted to Staff employ. The situation indeed seemed scarcely to present a choice of evils to the scared and bewildered officers.

If we must congratulate the India House on the very complete manner in which they succeeded in discrediting the institution they were anxious to establish, within a few months of its birth, we must likewise compliment them upon the policy they have adopted in keeping out from the Staff Corps some men who were most qualified to adorn its ranks. We confess that in our simplicity we believed that the great object in forming a Staff Corps was to attract to it the best and ablest officers in the service, men who are qualified by their knowledge of the language, and proficiency in other branches of scientific knowledge, to join it. Now, we will not pretend to have mastered every particular case, nor is it necessary that we should. But we will bring forward two cases, with which we are personally acquainted, which will illustrate very fairly the system on which the India House has nursed their pet bantling. The one case is that of an officer, who is, admittedly, one of the best linguists in the country. He passed long ago the P. C. examination, and has been appointed by the Government to various offices, which could only be properly filled by



an accomplished linguist. This was just the sort of officer an ordinary individual would have considered that the Home Government would be glad to see in the Staff Corps. On his applying, however, for admission, on the first formation of the Staff Corps, he was refused on the ground, we believe, that he had not held a permanent appointment within three years of the formation of the Staff Corps. It was true he had not, but why? Simply because he had been shot through the body during the mutiny, and had been forced to proceed to England for his recovery. Before that, he had held a regimental staff appointment, and subsequently a political appointment. But the rights resulting from these were nullified in the manner we have described, and he was unable to join the Staff Corps at the time of its formation. He could only have joined it subsequently at a loss in standing to himself.

The other case is very peculiar, and one which particularly merited a generous consideration on the part of the Home Government. It so happened that some sixteen years ago an officer, then Adjutant of a Local Regiment, received when out tiger-shooting, a grievous hurt, which incapacitated him from marching. As a mounted officer, however, he was not required to march, and for three or four years after his wound, he performed all his regimental duties, as perfectly as he had done before its occurrence. He then went home on furlough. On his return, being then a captain, he joined his regiment, and no complaint was ever made of the manner in which he performed his duties. Some influential friend, however, perceiving how irksome it was to him to perform those duties, mentioned his case to Lord Canning, and Lord Canning, with that generosity innate in his nature, gave him a Staff appointment. This was in 1856, the year before the mutiny. It so happened, unfortunately for him, that he was the eighth officer taken away from his Corps, and the Court of Directors, scrutinising the case, called upon Lord Canning to explain, why, contrary to their repeated injunctions, he had taken away an eighth officer from the regiment in question. Lord Canning, thinking very probably that his reply would be considered satisfactory, and that nothing more would be said, answered, that the officer had met with an accident which interfered with his marching, and that he had therefore given him an appointment in which he was not required to march. The tenacity of the Court of Directors was however too much for him. They replied that in the case under review, the Corps of Invalids, and not an appointment, was the proper place for the officer, and they directed that he should be brought at once before an Invaliding Committee. It had

happened, unfortunately, that the Corps of Invalids had been only then recently re-modelled, and placed on a footing very much less advantageous for officers. No one however had entered it; or, to speak more correctly, the only one officer who had entered it had been transferred, as a special case, to the old Invalid Corps. But it was now to the remodelled corps that this captain was transferred,—a transfer which deprived him of one half of his allowances, and which cut off from him all prospect of promotion, or of retirement on any sum in excess of a Captain's pension. The hardship of the case was increased by the fact that the accident had occurred some eight years before, and that had the officer been then transferred to the Invalids, he would have gone into the corps on the old liberal rules;—whereas, from no fault of his own, he was arbitrarily transferred on conditions which most injuriously affected him, not only then, but for the whole of his future life. Lord Canning himself was struck with the hardship of the case, and he not only continued him in his appointment, but took an early opportunity of transferring him to a higher position, in which he was working when the order was issued for the formation of the Staff Corps.

Now, this was a case which peculiarly merited generous consideration. The officer bore a high character, had passed the necessary examinations, and but for the accident of having been transferred to the Invalid Corps in the height of the mutiny, he might have claimed to be admitted to the Staff Corps as a right. Moreover, this officer constituted then the sole member of the recently re-modelled Invalid Battalion, and the case could not have formed a precedent. Nor could a compliance have injuriously affected the public service. The officer had a staff appointment, the duties of which he performed to the satisfaction of every one; he simply could not make a long march on foot, but many who are in the Staff Corps could not do from obesity and other causes what he was unable to do solely from his wound, and besides,—he would never have been called upon to march. It would have been a generous consideration for a most deserving officer, had he been allowed to enter the Staff Corps. Well, he applied. His application received the strong and cordial support of the Commander-in-Chief,—Sir Hugh Rose,—a man who, his worst enemies will admit, would never have recommended an officer, physically incapacitated, to be brought back into active employment. It received likewise the support and recommendation of the Government of India. At the India House it was refused. A cold 'I cannot approve the recommendation' condemned a most deserving officer,

sufficiently afflicted by a terrible wound, to spend all his life in India, shut out from him all prospect of ever again seeing his native land, told him that his services on the battle field, the long years he had spent in India, would receive no consideration.

Now we believe and we maintain that the spirit evinced in the three cases we have mentioned, has not only militated very much against the success of the Staff Corps, but has contributed enormously to the position which the Local officers have achieved. The determination to disregard the provisions of the very Charter of the new constitution, the Royal Warrant of January, 1861,—in spite of these remonstrances from the Government of India,—the closing the portals of the Staff Corps by purely technical objections to officers of peculiar qualifications, as evinced in the second,—and the utter disregard for the position and previous good service of officers, as shewn in the third,—have had a marked effect upon the minds and the tempers of the army. The local officers have watched with a keen glance all those jealous and arbitrary restrictions which have been imposed upon their Staff Corps' brethren, and the experience of these has stimulated them to fight bravely for the rights that yet are theirs. We confess we have been astounded at their success. In 1861, they were a scattered, disorganised body, with no plan, and no prospect of a plan, vainly and vaguely declaiming against injustice, and advised by the newspapers to put their trust in Sir Hugh Rose. What to do they knew not. Everybody was against them. They were Locals, and with that term was associated an idea that they were supernumeraries. As to their influencing the House of Commons, the very idea was considered as preposterous. On all sides they were advised to put their house in order. The effect upon some of the Local officers was extraordinary. Not a few, in panic at their future prospects, took the bonus and retired. Those who remained, however, resolved to die hard. By degrees they organised their forces. Obtaining in the House of Commons the generous advocacy of an officer of the Royal Service, known not only as a ready speaker, but as a man of inflexible resolution and iron will, they succeeded, four years after their dispersion and seeming dissolution as a corporate body, in beating the Government on what we have ever considered the weakest and least tenable of all their grounds of complaint. The volume at the head of this notice is, to use a technical phrase, through red in its color, their Blue Book; and it is certainly worthy of perusal, even if it be to illustrate the great results of which perseverance and persistence are capable. To Colonel North, the marshaller of the arguments which Captain Jervis leads into battle, the Local officers

are under a deep debt of gratitude. His has been a labour of love, of love for the old service in which he was brought up. Into the arguments it is not necessary that we should enter, as the matter to which they relate has already been disposed of. It is probable that next year will see another battle on the floor of St. Stephens for the really well-grounded grievances of the Local officers, viz. compensation for the loss of their bonus-funds. Here they have a case which is in justice irresistible, and, under the joint management of Col. North and Captain Jervis, and supported by men so highly esteemed as Mr. Henley, Lord Stanley, and Sir W. Farquhar, we do not think that it can fail.

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*Aide-Mémoire to the History of India, compiled and adapted for the use of selected Candidates for Her Majesty's Indian Civil and Military services, and of schools, teachers, and students in general.* By John Davenport, London. J. Davy and Sons, 137, Long Acre, 1864.

THAT work must be especially valuable which tends to produce in the mind of the student a classification of the different periods of the History of India, with an idea of the principal occurrences for which each is famous. The general ignorance of events, not of recent occurrence, that have occurred in India, is extraordinary. We are inclined to attribute this to the circumstance, that the popular histories of India confine themselves to the facts recorded by Mill, and in no case attempt to unearth any others. Considering what an immense amount of matter Mr. Mill's history keeps out of view, what really important events it ignores, and what trifling circumstances, if they but relate to the English, it magnifies and exalts, this result is scarcely to be wondered at. If the original is faulty the copy must be still more so. We had hoped that Mr. Marshman with his careful painstaking would have repaired this error, but he has evidently not gone beyond the India House for information. A greater mistake for any one writing a History of India there could not be. The India House contains records of all facts connected with the English in India, giving always the English view, and the English story even of those facts. But there are many parts of India, a connected record of whose history has never reached the India House, and which to the general reader, as well as to most Anglo-Indians, are as yet unknown lands. India is, in fact, in its inner history as well as in many other respects, almost an unworked mine, at which those who labour earnestly can gain hidden treasures of

knowledge. We regard Mr. Davenport's book as a very creditable effort to supply a much needed requirement. It is exactly what it professes to be—an aid to the memory. But it has been most carefully compiled, and the best authorities accessible have been consulted. The notes are especially good. Small as it is, details are given which are to be found in no abridged History of India. It is defective only in those portions in which all Anglo-Indian History is defective. But as an *Aide-Mémoire*, it is very useful. One result of glancing through its pages would be, in many cases, to stimulate the reader to obtain more complete knowledge on the spot. It is difficult to read an abstract of any history without wishing to obtain some insight into the details, and if Mr. Davenport's book have this result,—one which we believe far from improbable,—it will effect more good in its generation than if it were to succeed in its professed object,—an object we abominate, —*viz*, in cramming the candidates for the Civil service with the leading known facts of Anglo-Indian History.

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*The Rent Question in Bengal, or should Act X. be altered?* By Agricola. Calcutta, Printed at the Englishman Press, 2, Hare Street. 1865.

IN this pamphlet of 41 pages, this very difficult question is ably and practically handled. The writer is of opinion that the authors of Act X committed the cardinal error of legislating, as if all cultivators, without exception, had proprietary rights and rights of occupancy. 'One of the faults,' he justly observes, 'of all our legislation in this country is, that there is only the life experiences of half a dozen men to guide legislative measures on every subject. In India, we legislate in imperfect light, and as wider experience illumines our subject, and shews the imperfections of our former efforts, we have to undo what we did before, and build a new structure, which may be free from the mistakes of the former erection.' This is most true. We will not enter into this place into the reason why this should be so, but that it is so, no one will deny. It is too much the fashion of the present day to decry and depreciate Indian subjects, but unless a man is thoroughly conversant with the past detailed history of India and her people, it is not possible that he can legislate for their present requirements. It is a great mistake to imagine that a thorough knowledge of Anglo-Indian Regulations completely fits a man for such a task. That knowledge has, we believe, a directly contrary effect, unless

it be accompanied by that other knowledge of which we have spoken. It is as bad, on the one side, as is the blind attempt, also the child of ignorance, to introduce the cumbrous and artificial land system of England, on the other. That Act X was the offspring of legislators but little cognisant of the real nature of the people for whom they were legislating we have always believed, but the good and pure intentions of the authors we have never doubted. It has acted, in its effects, as a revolution, and not altogether a silent one. Its chief defect in our eyes, was that it gave, we believe on the part of the authors unintentionally, power to the twelve years' occupancy ryot to become a middleman; to receive himself all the profits of the increased value of land, without himself tilling an acre of it, but sub-letting it at a greatly enhanced rent to another. There can be little doubt that this has been done, and that this may still be done. Other defects consequent upon its practical working, have been clearly and pointedly brought to notice by *Agricola*, himself evidently practically acquainted with its details. What, then, is the remedy which he would suggest? We give it in his own language, premising that in our opinion, if tedious in its working, the remedy will be sure and certain in its results, one that must be, from its fair and practical nature, eminently satisfactory to the lovers of justice and fair play amongst Zemindars and ryots.

'Having,' says *Agricola*, 'then admitted that Act X. was passed on insufficient *data* let us be careful to avoid the same mistake in future. Let the law stand as it is for the present. Let a Commission be appointed of three or more persons: not a Commission which may *fix* *pergunnah* rates or in any other way *settle* rents by authority; not a Commission which may attempt the Herculean labour of adjusting the rights, tenures, and privileges of every ryot in Bengal, by proceedings similar to those on which settlements are now conducted on behalf of Government, but a Commission which, beginning with the districts round about Calcutta, (which require immediate attention,) may visit every district in succession, and holding its sittings at the Sudder Station, or other suitable centre, may take the evidence of men of *all classes from each Pergunnah*, as to the rights, tenures, and customs, prevalent and admitted within the last ten or twenty years. The local Collector could select the proper witnesses to be examined, and the Commissioners should hold themselves in readiness to receive any information from any direction, judging themselves of the value to be placed upon it. The whole of the evidence taken should be published from time to time as recorded. The information

'thus obtained would supply a sure groundwork for future legislation, which would then be enabled to deal with *existing* rights, with rights which have come into existence under British rule, and which will be found to differ materially from those in existence when we became possessed of this country. That such legislation would be in the right direction there can be no doubt. The Marquis of Clanricarde well remarked in the House of Lords, on the 3rd July last, that he believed that above all things it was desirable in legislating for India to lay down no particular rule for the government of the whole country, but that in the regulation of each portion regard should be had to the *usages, customs, and laws already existing*.

'The next step to be taken should be to decide *what tenures were entitled to protection*. Exceptional provisions ought to be made for the exceptional customs of certain districts. The customs of copy-hold manors differing widely from one another are respected under English Law, and no attempt has ever been made to apply the same set of customs to all manors. The tenures of Gavelkind in Kent and elsewhere, Borough English in certain cities, Ancient Demesne in the lands formerly belonging to the Crown, and Frankalmoin in Church lands, have existed intact to the present day in England, and no one has ever proposed for the sake of uniformity that one law should apply to all these tenures indiscriminately.

'Having settled what tenures were entitled to protection, *let the rest of the land be disposed of by the landlords at their own free will and pleasure*. Leave it to competition, such competition as now exists, or will presently be created. Be assured that both parties will find the measure of their own interests. There are many tenures of various kinds throughout Bengal, to leave which at the mercy of the landlords would be wanton injustice. Find out what these are and protect them. But inaugurate no measure that will have the effect a prospective section 6 of Act X. of 1859. Those entitled to protection being protected, and the rest left to competition, there will be sufficient of the latter element to prevent the stagnation and apathy which will inevitably result, if the ryots as a body be placed in position in which no external moral pressure will be brought to bear upon them. We have already seen in the case of Bengal Zemindars, how unable are the people of this country to create any germ of progress among themselves. Their own countryman, the first Native Judge of the High Court, has clearly depicted their indolence and lethargy in his judgment in the recent Rent Case. Make the whole body of the ryots independent of their landlords *now*, as we made the Zemindars

'independent of Government at the time of the Permanent Settlement: and as it has been remarked that so ought we to make English Landlords but made only Irish ones; so surely will it be true that instead of making *peasant proprietors*, we will make *Irish paupers*. Let me quote, in support of the above, the opinion of an able Officer of Government (Mr. W. W. Bird) quoted by Lord William Bentinck in the Minute already alluded to: "Where as in India there is so little general intelligence and foresight and so much poverty, were large classes of men thrown entirely on their own resources, and removed from all connection with their superiors, to whom they had been accustomed to look up for aid, the consequences might be very prejudicial to their own interests as well as those of Government." Sufficient healthy competition may be introduced to prevent such an evil. Half a century hence those, whose rights are protected now, will have risen above the status of labourers, will let their lands, and be the germ of a middle class which shall learn to think and speak for themselves.

The rights to be protected being defined, let a given time be allowed those claiming such rights to register. The present system of Registration might be made to meet the emergency, or a special office could be opened under the superintendence of the Collector. All tenures not registered within the time fixed by law should be disallowed. The party registering any tenure should define in writing exactly what rights and privileges he claimed as the incidents of his tenure. He should also give a list of witnesses, and file all documents upon which he relied for proof in case of dispute, and no other witnesses should be called, and no other documents allowed, unless by express permission of the Court for reasons to be recorded. When a tenure was thus registered, notices should be served on the landlord and other interested parties, and advertisements should issue, calling upon all persons who had any objections to urge against the tenure being registered as belonging to the class, and having the incidents claimed for it to come forward and state their objections. If no objectors appeared within a given time, the right claimed should be definitively registered, and should become *indefeasible*. If objectors appeared, the parties should be referred to the proper Courts, the decision of which should be certified to the Registration Office.

These suggestions contain a great deal that is sound and practical. The author is evidently a man thoroughly acquainted with his subject, and he writes from conviction. We have before us, in fact, a man who has been brought face to face with Act X in its working, pouring out his whole heart on the subject.



It is done too, on this occasion, in a manner so clear and forcible, so utterly above the cant of writing up to the supposed impressions of people in power, that its effect, even in a country ruled on principles purely absolute, is sure to be very great, and we are prepared to find, in the course of the coming Legislative session, that it has been made the basis of reforms which are becoming daily more imperative.

*The Code of Civil Procedure with notes of the cases upon it, decided in the late Sudder Court and in the present High Courts of Judicature in three Presidencies, &c. &c. &c., by L. Broughton, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister and Advocate of the High Court of Calcutta. Calcutta: Published by Geo. Wyman and Co., 10, Hare Street 1865.*

THE object of this work has been to present to the public a complete abridgment of all the decisions which have been given in the former Sudder, and present High, Courts, of the three Presidencies, on the Code of Civil Procedure since its introduction. It thus constitutes a work absolutely necessary to the barrister. The man who has it, at least, will possess an immense advantage over the pleader who has it not. The work is published opportunely, and it is especially valuable as forming, in itself, a complete resumé of the Civil Procedure of India, as it exists at the present moment. 'Any code of Procedure,' observes Mr. Broughton in his preface, 'however carefully drawn, must of necessity be, of itself, imperfect; and it is only by the collection and arrangement of the different decisions, that accuracy can, in the course of time, be arrived at.' The collection and arrangement of the different decisions, here referred to, form a prominent part of the work, and constitute its most valuable feature. That this has been done with great care is evident even from a casual perusal of that portion in which the subject is treated. The decisions have reference to the various sections of Act VIII. of 1859, and serve to illustrate them,—to give to each point and meaning. The Act itself is given at full length, together with the various acts and orders extending to the Code of Civil Procedure,—a compilation which must have cost a great deal of tiresome labour. The appendix contains the various orders relative to the establishment of the High Court.

It is scarcely necessary to recommend a work which carries within itself such a high value. It is impossible however for us to leave it unmentioned, and it is impossible to notice it without commenting on the careful manner in which it has been compiled, and the wisdom for the purpose for which it is intended.









